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DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

CENSUS MONOGRAPH
XI

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RATIO OF CHILDREN TO WOMEN
1920

A STUDY IN THE DIFFERENTIAL RATE OF NATURAL INCREASE IN THE UNITED STATES

BY

WARREN S. THOMPSON

CENSUS MONOGRAPH
XI

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I

INTRODUCTION

More and more the nations of the Western World are concerning themselves to make inventories of their principal population movements. For a century and three-quarters Sweden has kept a relatively good account of its births and deaths as well as its numbers. Some of the other countries of western Europe have such data for a century or more, but for most of them the data have been gathered with reasonable accuracy for only a few decades; while for the countries outside of Europe having such data at all, they are of even more recent origin.

When the birth-registration area of the United States was first formed, in 1915, it comprised 10 States and the District of Columbia, containing 31.1 per cent of the population. In the same year the death-registration area, which had been established some years earlier, comprised 25 States, the District of Columbia, and certain cities and included 67.1 per cent of the population of the country. Certain States had had reliable registration data for a considerable time preceding the formation of the registration areas, but little information could be gleaned from them regarding births and deaths in the United States as a whole because of the great differences between different sections of the country. At present (1929) the registration area for both births and deaths includes all but four States and contains about 95 per cent of the total population.

The data on births published by the Bureau of the Census are gathered in the first instance not by the Federal Government but by the several States, and, in spite of the conditions maintained for admission to the registration area, they are of varying degrees of accuracy. The registration laws are not equally well enforced in all States. The States in which vital statistics have been gathered for a long time are quite likely to have more accurate data than some of the States in which the reporting of births and deaths has only recently attained sufficient accuracy to allow the States to be admitted to the registration area. It is, moreover, a matter of common knowledge that it is generally more difficult to secure accurate reports of births than of deaths; hence the birth rates of a good many States are probably less accurate than their death rates.

The birth statistics, however, in spite of shortcomings, do show directions in which we may look for significant trends in the processes of our population growth. But if we are to make any extensive inventory of the sources of natural increase of population in this country we must supplement the vital statistics available with data from other sources. Under existing circumstances the best source of supplementary data appears to be the ratio of children to women based on the census of 1920.

On two points in particular a study of this ratio may be expected to throw some additional light, namely, the differential rates of increase in country and city and the differences between the native and the foreign born in their contributions to our population growth.

AVAILABLE BIRTH STATISTICS

It will be well before entering upon the discussion of the ratio of children to women to present briefly some of the more salient facts regarding births and deaths from the vital statistics for the United States as published by the Census Bureau. Vital rates are usually presented in terms of the number of births or deaths per 1,000 of the population. This number forms the crude birth rate or death rate, as the case may be. Such rates are presented in Table 1 for 1925 and 1920.

It is obvious that the number of deaths per 1,000 of the population will be greater in a city or State which has a large percentage of its people in the older age groups than in one containing fewer old persons; and that, other things being equal, a population containing a large percentage of women of childbearing age will have a higher birth rate than one with a relatively low percentage of such women. The wide range of differences between the population in various areas in respect to age and sex distribution is indicated by the data in Table 2.

As a consequence of these differences in the composition of the population, crude death rates and crude birth rates tell us whether a population is increasing or decreasing in numbers, but they are of little value in making close comparisons between groups unless we know beforehand that the age and sex constitutions of the groups are quite similar. The Bureau of the Census recognizes this limitation in the utility of crude death rates and publishes also "adjusted" death rates (Table 1), in which allowance (or compensation) is made for differences in age and sex composition, together with certain types of supplementary birth rates.

In Table 3 we have birth rates for 1920 based on the female population rather than on the total population, and classified according to the country in which the mother was born.

Table 1.—Birth and Death Rates per 1,000 of the Population (by Color for Certain States) in the Registration States: 1925 and 1920 [1]

[Exclusive of stillbirths]

AREA	BIRTH RATES PER 1,000 OF THE POPULATION		DEATH RATES PER 1,000 OF THE POPULATION			
	1925 Crude	1920 Crude	1925		1920	
			Crude	Adjusted	Crude	Adjusted
	A	B	C	D	E	F
Registration States [2]	21.4	23.7	11.8	(3)	13.0	(3)
Registration States of 1920 [2]	21.6	23.7	11.9	11.5	13.0	12.7
Alabama	(4)	(4)	11.7	(3)	(4)	(4)
White	(4)	(4)	9.4	(3)	(4)	(4)
Colored	(4)	(4)	15.6	(3)	(4)	(4)
California	20.4	19.3	13.6	12.4	13.6	12.4
Colorado	(4)	(4)	12.1	12.1	14.5	14.4
Connecticut	18.9	24.5	11.2	10.6	13.6	12.9
Delaware	19.6	(4)	13.1	12.3	14.6	13.7
Florida	23.3	(4)	13.3	13.7	13.0	13.4
White	23.5	(4)	11.8	11.5	11.7	11.4
Colored	22.9	(4)	16.6	18.8	15.5	17.6
Idaho	(4)	(4)	6.7	(3)	(4)	(4)
Illinois	19.1	(4)	11.5	11.4	12.6	12.5
Indiana	20.8	22.0	12.5	11.3	13.4	12.1
Iowa	19.7	(4)	10.0	(3)	(4)	(4)
Kansas	20.3	22.3	10.2	9.3	11.4	10.4
Kentucky	25.3	26.0	11.3	11.2	11.8	11.7
White	25.9	26.8	10.4	10.3	11.0	10.9
Colored	19.8	17.6	20.8	20.9	19.4	19.5
Louisiana	(4)	(4)	13.2	14.7	11.9	13.3
White	(4)	(4)	10.2	11.4	9.8	10.9
Colored	(4)	(4)	18.4	20.5	15.3	17.1
Maine	22.2	22.5	13.7	11.0	15.4	12.4
Maryland	21.7	24.8	13.9	13.6	14.7	14.4
White	20.8	24.3	12.4	11.9	13.3	12.8
Colored	26.4	27.5	21.5	23.0	21.2	22.7
Massachusetts	20.8	23.6	12.5	11.7	13.8	12.9
Michigan	23.2	25.0	11.5	11.0	13.9	13.2
Minnesota	20.6	23.3	9.7	9.5	10.7	10.5
Mississippi	25.2	(4)	12.4	13.5	12.3	13.4
White	25.9	(4)	9.6	10.1	9.2	9.7
Colored	24.6	(4)	14.9	16.6	15.1	16.8
Missouri	(4)	(4)	11.9	11.4	12.5	11.9
Montana	15.2	(4)	7.7	8.2	9.5	10.2
Nebraska	21.3	23.7	9.1	8.9	10.0	9.7
New Hampshire	20.8	22.4	14.5	11.6	15.2	12.2
New Jersey	20.6	(4)	11.7	11.8	13.0	13.1
New York	20.6	22.5	12.8	12.5	13.8	13.6
North Carolina	29.8	31.6	11.6	12.3	12.7	13.4
White	29.1	31.7	9.9	10.3	11.2	11.6
Colored	31.4	31.3	15.5	17.1	16.0	17.7
North Dakota	22.6	(4)	7.9	(3)	(4)	(4)
Ohio	19.6	21.3	11.4	10.6	12.8	11.9
Oregon	17.9	18.9	11.2	10.4	11.7	10.9
Pennsylvania	22.7	25.1	12.2	12.0	13.8	13.6
Rhode Island	21.2	(4)	12.1	11.6	14.3	13.8
South Carolina	(4)	28.2	12.2	13.5	14.0	15.6
White	(4)	28.8	9.6	10.4	11.4	12.3
Colored	(4)	27.7	14.9	17.0	16.5	18.9
Tennessee	(4)	(4)	11.4	11.8	12.1	12.5
White	(4)	(4)	9.7	9.9	10.7	10.9
Colored	(4)	(4)	19.0	20.1	18.1	19.2
Utah	27.3	31.2	8.9	9.3	11.5	12.0
Vermont	21.3	21.0	14.6	11.4	15.7	12.3
Virginia	24.6	28.3	11.8	12.2	13.1	13.6
White	23.9	27.8	9.9	10.0	11.3	11.4
Colored	26.4	29.7	16.6	17.9	17.6	18.9
Washington	16.4	19.8	10.1	10.0	11.1	11.0
West Virginia	27.7	(4)	10.5	(3)	(4)	(4)
Wisconsin	20.1	22.2	10.3	9.7	11.2	10.5
Wyoming	21.1	(4)	8.3	(3)	(4)	(4)

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[1] Col. A, Bureau of the Census, Birth Statistics, 1925; col. B, Birth Statistics, 1920; cols. C, E, and F. Mortality Statistics, 1925, Part II; col. D derived from ratios shown in Mortality Statistics, 1924.

[2] Including District of Columbia.

[3] Not available.

[4] Not in registration area.

TABLE 2.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION IN THREE STATES AND THREE CITIES, BY SEX AND BY AGE GROUPS: 1920[1]

AGE GROUP	PER CENT OF TOTAL POPULATION											
	State						City					
	Vermont		Iowa		North Carolina		New York		Detroit		Seattle	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
All ages	50.7	49.3	51.1	48.9	50.0	50.0	49.9	50.1	54.4	45.6	53.2	46.8
Under 5	5.0	4.8	5.3	5.1	7.1	6.9	5.1	4.9	5.7	5.6	3.9	3.8
5 to 14	9.5	9.2	9.8	9.6	13.3	13.0	9.2	9.1	7.9	7.9	7.0	7.0
15 to 24	8.0	7.9	8.8	8.9	9.4	10.1	8.3	9.4	9.5	8.6	7.4	8.2
25 to 34	6.9	6.9	8.2	7.8	6.3	6.9	9.7	9.7	14.0	10.3	11.2	10.1
35 to 44	6.7	6.4	6.6	6.3	5.3	5.4	7.9	7.3	8.9	6.2	10.6	7.9
45 to 54	6.1	5.6	5.5	4.8	4.0	3.5	5.4	5.0	4.8	3.7	6.9	5.1
55 to 64	4.3	4.1	3.8	3.3	2.5	2.2	2.8	2.8	2.3	2.1	3.9	2.9
65 to 74	2.8	2.7	2.1	1.9	1.5	1.3	1.1	1.2	0.9	1.0	1.5	1.3
75 to 84	1.2	1.3	0.8	0.8	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.4
85 and over	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	(1)	0.2	(2)	0.1	0.1	0.1
Unknown	0.1	(2)	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	(2)	0.3	0.1

[1] Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, 1920.

[2] Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

TABLE 3.—BIRTHS (WHITE) IN THE REGISTRATION STATES PER 1,000 OF WHITE FEMALE POPULATION, BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF MOTHER: 1920[1]

[Rates are shown in *italics* when the number of births is less than 5]

STATE	COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF MOTHER						
	United States	Canada	Denmark, Norway, and Sweden	England, Scotland, and Wales	Ireland	Italy	Other foreign countries
Registration area	42.8	47.3	39.4	38.2	41.5	160.0	85.2
California	34.7	25.8	33.0	33.8	34.5	92.1	73.7
Connecticut	31.2	55.8	44.9	36.7	39.0	177.2	117.2
District of Columbia	33.9	23.4	43.0	32.9	31.2	137.9	68.2
Indiana	43.8	28.3	34.9	41.6	29.2	137.8	83.0
Kansas	46.4	15.5	20.6	18.8	14.1	96.1	58.8
Kentucky	55.1	12.8	44.6	21.3	13.1	124.3	29.6
Maine	41.3	72.1	41.9	42.7	48.9	231.2	103.9
Maryland	47.1	44.8	52.8	43.3	28.2	160.0	72.9
Massachusetts	33.2	54.7	42.7	42.0	50.1	175.7	116.9
Michigan	47.7	41.2	37.5	52.3	35.5	203.2	98.8
Minnesota	48.5	29.4	41.9	43.9	26.1	166.3	63.5
Nebraska	49.8	12.0	33.3	25.2	21.0	180.4	52.8
New Hampshire	37.0	71.4	34.9	34.6	34.5	176.4	130.6
New York	33.5	39.0	41.5	36.0	42.6	150.8	72.9
North Carolina	64.2	47.5	78.4	48.2	33.1	52.3	92.0
Ohio	39.9	32.7	41.3	35.8	31.4	178.0	82.5
Oregon	39.5	33.3	37.6	41.5	27.0	112.5	51.6
Pennsylvania	42.0	40.5	40.5	36.0	39.2	188.8	118.1
South Carolina	59.1	51.7	*30.8*	70.4	*19.1*	97.2	72.5
Utah	64.5	57.3	46.4	44.5	42.4	151.5	110.9
Vermont	39.1	61.1	35.0	43.7	24.8	107.8	144.4
Virginia	56.7	46.3	54.7	47.6	34.9	124.2	90.6
Washington	41.0	36.6	43.4	40.3	40.8	109.0	57.3
Wisconsin	45.4	25.7	32.8	28.7	19.4	191.2	51.1

[1] Bureau of the Census, Birth Statistics, 1920, p. 10.

For the Nation as a whole, there are no considerable differences between the rates thus calculated for women born in the United States and for those born in the British Isles, in Canada, or in Scandinavia. The rate for women born in Italy, however, is almost four times that for native women; and for women born in the other foreign countries the rates are twice the native rate. This series of rates is still open to criticism because of the difference in age constitution of the women in the United States who were born here and those who came here from various foreign countries. Thus of all women born in the United States and living here in 1920, 36.4 per cent were 20 to 44 years of age, but of the foreign born living in the United States in 1920, 51.6 per cent were in this age group.[1] The variation in the percentage of foreign-born women from different countries who were in the 20 to 44 age group is also great; thus for certain representative urban and rural areas in the United States the women 20 to 44 born in England, Scotland, and Wales constituted 46.7 per cent of all women born in these countries. In these same areas women of this age group born in Italy constituted 63.1 per cent of all the Italian-born women.[2]

Clearly, differences in age constitution as well as sex must be allowed for in computing birth rates that are significant for strict comparisons. Such allowance is made to a certain extent in Table 4, which shows the number of births to mothers 20 to 49 years of age per 1,000 women aged 20 to 49, for certain population groups in each State, in 1920.

Even when the comparison is made on this basis, we still find large differences in the birth rates computed for native and foreign-born women in most of the States. In the Southern States and in Utah, however, the rate for native white women is larger than that for foreign-born white women.

The differences between States are about as wide as on the basis of the crude birth rates. The highest rate for the entire population in any of the States (Utah, 151.8) is slightly less than twice the rate in the lowest State (California, 77.6). In Table 3, which gives the rates on the basis of all women in the nativity group, the highest rate for women born in the United States (Utah, 64.5) is slightly more than twice the lowest rate (Connecticut, 31.2).

Still another form of birth rate is found in Table 5. In this table, the differences between native and foreign-born women are still further smoothed out because only married women 15 to 44 years of age are considered in calculating the rates.

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[1] Fourteenth Census Reports, 1920, Vol. II, pp. 156, 157.

[2] Carpenter, Niles, Immigrants and Their Children, Census Monograph VII, Table 176, pp. 412, 413.

TABLE 4.—BIRTHS TO MOTHERS 20 TO 49 YEARS OF AGE PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 49 YEARS OF AGE IN THE POPULATION, BY COLOR AND NATIVITY OF MOTHER, FOR THE REGISTRATION STATES: 1920 [1]

[Rates are shown in *italics* when the number of births is less than 5]

NATIVITY OF MOTHER	BIRTHS PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 49 YEARS OF AGE							
	Registration area [2]	California	Connecticut	District of Columbia	Indiana	Kansas	Kentucky	Maryland
Total	99.6	77.6	103.9	58.0	92.2	97.5	112.0	98.5
White	99.5	72.7	104.2	58.3	93.4	98.8	118.8	99.5
Native	93.6	66.8	77.1	55.0	91.2	98.7	119.3	96.9
Foreign born	120.8	94.7	146.3	90.4	130.0	98.9	73.3	121.3
Colored	101.5	195.8	87.9	57.2	57.8	61.8	59.7	93.7
Negro	95.9	53.0	87.1	57.1	57.8	61.1	59.7	93.6
Other colored	234.5	270.6	169.8	117.6	*88.2*	93.9	*266.7*	291.7

NATIVITY OF MOTHER	BIRTHS PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 49 YEARS OF AGE							
	Massachusetts	Michigan	Minnesota	Nebraska	New Hampshire	New York	North Carolina	Ohio
Total	93.8	109.7	106.4	105.1	97.1	89.7	144.1	88.8
White	93.8	110.7	106.4	105.7	97.1	90.3	149.2	89.6
Native	78.1	104.5	107.9	106.7	87.6	75.9	149.2	83.8
Foreign born	117.8	130.1	100.6	96.6	120.0	115.2	104.0	124.1
Colored	93.1	68.4	100.0	69.8	46.2	65.4	132.5	66.4
Negro	90.4	67.1	48.4	43.1	*33.6*	64.1	132.0	66.2
Other colored	231.1	89.1	182.8	220.6	*181.8*	118.7	168.4	188.9

NATIVITY OF MOTHER	BIRTHS PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 49 YEARS OF AGE							
	Oregon	Pennsylvania	South Carolina	Utah	Vermont	Virginia	Washington	Wisconsin
Total	79.3	107.6	123.3	151.8	95.0	123.5	84.1	101.6
White	78.2	109.4	132.2	151.2	95.1	125.3	81.4	101.5
Native	78.2	96.1	132.4	154.3	90.0	125.4	82.2	101.5
Foreign born	78.2	154.8	107.3	132.6	121.9	115.1	77.8	100.6
Colored	156.3	67.4	115.0	187.4	*18.0*	119.5	194.5	111.4
Negro	45.0	67.2	114.9	64.4	*9.3*	119.3	41.4	59.8
Other colored	193.0	200.0	266.7	241.1	*250.0*	323.9	244.0	153.4

[1] Bureau of the Census, Birth Statistics, 1920, pp. 11 and 12.

[2] Exclusive of Maine, where birth certificate does not show age of parents.

This table considered by itself would give an erroneous impression of the relative rates of increase of native and foreign stock in this country, because of the much greater proportion of the foreign-born women who are married. About one-fifth more of the foreign-born women in the childbearing ages (15 to 44) are married than of the native women in the same age group. This fact alone would give the foreign-born population a considerably higher rate of increase even if the birth rates for married women were the same.

The differences in rates between States are still great, even on the basis of these figures, which equalize differences in the percentage of women married. For the native women in 1920, Utah stood highest, with a rate of 229.8, and Oregon lowest, with a rate of 124.4. For the foreign-born women, Pennsylvania stood highest, with 209.9, and Washington lowest, with 114.5. Clearly the differences between

States which are wholly of an environmental nature deserve considerable attention if we are to understand differences in birth rates and ratios of children to women.

Table 5.—Births per 1,000 Married Women (Estimated) 15 to 44 Years of Age, by Color and Nativity, in the Registration States: 1920 [1]

STATE	WHITE			Negro
	Total	Native	Foreign-born	
Registration States [2]	167.2	164.3	177.4	148.6
Connecticut	174.7	151.6	201.1	141.0
District of Columbia	132.8	130.2	153.3	106.3
Indiana	151.1	149.4	175.0	94.5
Kansas	155.9	156.2	151.4	101.1
Kentucky	187.4	188.1	121.2	101.4
Maryland	170.4	169.2	179.3	145.7
Michigan	168.3	165.0	177.7	94.0
Minnesota	179.5	187.1	152.7	72.0
Nebraska	166.5	168.5	150.1	63.7
New Hampshire	174.5	166.9	190.9	64.1
New York	157.2	145.6	173.5	110.8
North Carolina	228.7	229.0	163.2	198.5
Ohio	143.8	139.5	165.1	101.6
Oregon	123.7	124.4	119.2	65.5
Pennsylvania	180.8	170.3	209.9	105.4
South Carolina	203.3	203.8	150.8	167.1
Utah	225.8	229.8	200.1	88.9
Vermont	161.7	158.2	178.3	172.4
Virginia	200.6	201.8	155.9	182.5
Washington	126.9	130.0	114.5	68.5
Wisconsin	166.2	170.7	146.7	89.3

[1] Bureau of the Census, Birth Statistics, 1921, p. 16, Table M, third division.

[2] Exclusive of California, Maine, and Massachusetts. The birth certificates of California and Massachusetts do not show the legitimacy of child; that of Maine does not show age of parents or legitimacy of child.

Table 6 shows what percentage of all married white women 20 to 44 years of age were foreign-born, and also what percentage of all white children born during the years 1918–1921 were born to foreign-born white mothers.

TABLE 6.—PER CENT CHILDREN BORN TO FOREIGN-BORN WHITE MOTHERS ARE OF ALL WHITE CHILDREN, 1918–1921, AND PER CENT FOREIGN-BORN WHITE MARRIED WOMEN ARE OF ALL WHITE MARRIED WOMEN IN THE REGISTRATION STATES: 1920 AND 1910[1]

STATE	Per cent children of foreign-born white mothers are of total children of white mothers				Per cent foreign-born white married women 20 to 44 years of age are of total white married women 20 to 44	
	1921	1920	1919	1918	1920	1910
	A	B	C	D	E	F
California	28.3	27.1	28.0	(2)	23.0	24.0
Connecticut	52.0	53.3	56.8	58.2	47.0	46.4
Delaware	20.2	(2)	(2)	(2)	15.1	13.8
District of Columbia	13.1	12.4	12.9	13.1	11.2	12.0
Indiana	7.1	7.3	8.4	8.5	6.4	5.8
Kansas	5.8	5.7	6.5	6.1	6.0	8.3
Kentucky	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.8	1.1	1.3
Maine	23.3	21.9	25.1	24.2	20.8	22.2
Maryland	11.6	11.8	13.2	13.2	11.7	13.3
Massachusetts	47.6	48.6	52.6	53.2	46.2	49.0
Michigan	26.1	26.8	29.1	30.1	25.9	26.9
Minnesota	17.6	19.0	21.9	22.3	23.1	34.4
Mississippi	1.0	(2)	(2)	(2)	1.1	1.3
Nebraska	10.1	10.0	(2)	(2)	11.4	17.8
New Hampshire	33.1	34.2	37.8	38.5	32.0	33.0
New Jersey	43.7	(2)	(2)	(2)	39.2	39.0
New York	44.8	45.4	49.0	49.1	41.8	42.9
North Carolina	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.5
Ohio	18.8	19.0	21.7	21.9	16.9	15.6
Oregon	12.2	12.5	13.0	(2)	13.3	15.0
Pennsylvania	29.7	30.2	33.9	34.5	26.8	27.4
Rhode Island	47.5	(3)	(3)	53.6	46.4	50.0
South Carolina	0.7	0.6	0.6	(2)	0.9	1.0
Utah	11.5	12.1	12.7	13.2	14.1	19.2
Vermont	18.9	19.5	20.7	21.4	18.1	18.4
Virginia	2.1	2.0	2.1	2.1	2.7	2.4
Washington	17.7	18.1	19.9	20.2	20.6	23.2
Wisconsin	15.5	16.6	18.7	19.1	19.4	26.5

[1] From reports of the Bureau of the Census: Columns A, B, C, D, from Birth Statistics, 1921, p. 16, Table N; column E from Vol. II, Population, 1920, Chap. IV, Table 11; column F from Population, 1910, Chap. V, Table 32.

[2] Not added to the registration area until a later date.

[3] Not in the registration area in 1919 and 1920.

In most States these foreign-born women contribute a larger proportion of the children than they themselves constitute of the total women. This confirms the point brought out in Tables 3, 4, and 5, namely, that generally foreign-born women bear more children than native women. But it also emphasizes the differences between States and sections of the country in this respect. For, according to this table, the foreign-born women scarcely hold their own in the Southern States, where there are comparatively few foreign born. This is also the case in several of the Middle Western agricultural States, and in Oregon and Washington, where both natives and foreign born are of Teutonic stock.

Table 7 shows the average number of children ever born to the mothers of the children born in 1920, classified as native white, foreign-born white (total and by country of birth), and colored, and also the average number of such children living at the time of the 1920 birth.

The foreign-born women in the United States as a whole average one more child born than the native women, but only 0.7 of a child more living, by reason of greater child mortality in the foreign-born group. It is difficult to draw any conclusions from such data, however, because of the fact that foreign-born mothers are likely to be somewhat older on the average than native mothers; hence the average number of children they have borne would be greater, even if the total number of children in completed families of native and foreign-born women were the same. When we compare women born in different countries as regards the number of children they have borne, there is no mistaking the fact that some of the recent immigrant groups (Poles, Italians, Hungarians, and Austrians) have larger families than most of the older immigrant groups, though even here, on account of lack of data on the age of the mothers in the different groups and because of the small numbers of foreign born in some States, the data are far from satisfactory.

Table 8 shows for 1920 the distribution of 1,000 births to mothers of different nativities according to the order or serial number of the birth—that is, according to the number of children previously born to the mother.

These figures indicate that a much larger proportion of the births to native women are first and second births than is the case with most foreign-born women. Here again, however, we must remember that we do not know the ages of the women in these different groups. Furthermore, the distinctly agricultural States were not adequately represented in the birth statistics in 1920.

Table 9 shows the average number of children ever born to mothers of children born in 1920 classified according to the occupation of the father, for certain selected occupational groups.

Table 7.—Average Number of Children Ever Born to Mothers of Children Born in 1920, and Average Number of These Children Living, by Color, and for White Children by Country of Birth of Mother, in the Registration Area and Certain Registration States: 1920 [1]

[Averages are shown in *italics* when the number of mothers is less than 5. The averages are exclusive of the number "not stated" for children ever born to mothers of 1920 and for these children living in 1920]

STATE	AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN																
	Total	White															Colored
		Total	Country of birth of mother														
			United States	Foreign country												Country not stated	
				Total foreign-born	Austria (includes Austrian Poland)	Hungary	Canada	Denmark, Norway, and Sweden	England, Scotland, and Wales	Ireland	Germany (includes German Poland)	Italy	Poland (not specified)	Russia (includes Russian Poland)	Other foreign countries		
The registration area: [2]																	
Children ever born	3.3	3.3	3.0	4.0	4.3	4.2	3.4	3.7	3.1	3.4	4.4	4.5	4.5	3.4	3.7	3.2	3.6
Children living	2.9	2.9	2.7	3.4	3.6	3.5	2.9	3.4	2.8	3.0	3.9	3.8	3.7	3.0	3.1	2.8	3.1
REGISTRATION STATES																	
California:																	
Children ever born	2.7	2.7	2.4	3.5	3.4	3.3	2.4	2.9	2.4	3.0	3.1	3.7	3.1	3.5	3.8	2.6	2.8
Children living	2.4	2.4	2.2	2.9	3.0	3.0	2.2	2.6	2.2	2.7	2.8	3.2	2.7	3.0	3.1	2.6	2.5
Connecticut:																	
Children ever born	3.3	3.3	2.5	4.0	4.1	4.2	3.8	3.4	2.9	3.4	3.8	4.6	4.2	3.4	3.3	2.4	3.2
Children living	2.9	2.9	2.3	3.4	3.5	3.5	3.3	3.1	2.6	3.0	3.4	3.9	3.5	3.0	2.8	2.2	2.6
District of Columbia:																	
Children ever born	2.6	2.4	2.3	3.1	2.3	*2.5*	2.5	2.5	2.7	3.2	3.3	4.2	1.7	2.9	2.4	1.3	3.0
Children living	2.3	2.2	2.1	2.8	2.0	*2.5*	2.2	2.2	2.6	2.9	2.8	3.6	1.7	2.7	2.3	1.2	2.5
Indiana:																	
Children ever born	3.1	3.1	3.0	4.3	4.7	4.5	3.3	3.1	3.7	3.6	4.2	4.4	4.7	4.0	3.9	2.5	3.2
Children living	2.8	2.8	2.7	3.6	3.8	3.7	2.7	2.8	3.1	3.2	3.7	3.8	3.8	3.4	3.3	2.3	2.7
Kansas:																	
Children ever born	3.1	3.1	3.0	4.2	4.9	4.1	3.9	4.1	3.3	3.1	5.1	3.8	4.0	5.0	3.6	3.1	3.3
Children living	2.8	2.8	2.8	3.6	4.3	3.4	3.5	3.8	3.0	2.8	4.7	3.3	3.4	4.3	3.0	2.8	2.8
Kentucky:																	
Children ever born	3.6	3.6	3.5	4.1	4.3	4.9	2.2	4.4	2.3	4.1	4.3	4.4	3.6	3.9	4.2	3.1	3.6
Children living	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.5	3.9	4.2	2.2	3.8	1.9	3.5	3.8	3.7	3.4	3.5	3.4	2.6	2.9
Maine:																	
Children ever born	3.4	3.4	3.2	4.1	5.1	3.7	4.3	3.8	3.2	3.5	2.6	4.7	3.4	3.7	3.7	1.9	3.7
Children living [3]	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------

Maryland:																	
Children ever born	3.3	3.2	3.1	4.0	3.9	4.4	3.2	2.8	3.2	3.9	4.1	4.5	5.0	3.6	3.4	4.3	3.9
Children living	2.9	2.8	2.7	3.4	3.3	3.8	2.9	2.7	2.8	3.4	3.5	3.9	3.9	3.2	2.9	3.7	3.1
Michigan:																	
Children ever born	3.2	3.2	2.9	4.1	4.3	4.3	3.5	4.1	2.8	3.0	4.9	4.3	4.3	3.8	4.3	3.7	2.9
Children living	2.8	2.8	2.6	3.5	3.6	3.5	3.1	3.7	2.5	2.6	4.1	3.6	3.6	3.2	3.7	2.9	2.4
Minnesota:																	
Children ever born	3.3	3.3	3.0	4.5	5.0	5.1	4.0	4.2	2.9	3.6	5.5	4.8	4.9	3.7	4.5	2.9	3.8
Children living	3.0	3.0	2.8	4.0	4.4	4.3	3.5	3.9	2.7	3.2	5.0	4.1	4.3	3.3	4.0	2.7	3.0
Nebraska:																	
Children ever born	3.4	3.4	3.2	4.8	4.7	4.7	2.9	4.3	3.6	4.0	5.8	3.8	5.5	5.6	3.9	2.5	3.5
Children living	3.1	3.1	3.0	4.2	4.2	4.1	2.6	3.9	3.4	3.5	5.3	3.5	4.8	4.7	3.4	2.4	3.0
New Hampshire:																	
Children ever born	3.3	3.3	2.9	4.0	3.5	*1.8*	4.3	3.3	2.7	3.8	3.0	4.4	4.2	3.7	3.3	4.0	1.9
Children living [3]	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------
New York:																	
Children ever born	3.1	3.1	2.6	3.6	3.3	3.2	3.2	2.8	2.8	3.3	3.5	4.5	4.1	2.9	2.9	3.0	2.8
Children living	2.7	2.7	2.3	3.1	2.9	2.7	2.8	2.5	2.5	2.9	3.1	3.8	3.5	2.6	2.5	2.7	2.3
North Carolina:																	
Children ever born	3.8	3.8	3.8	3.3	4.3	*6.0*	1.8	1.9	2.7	3.4	2.7	4.9	3.3	3.4	3.6	3.7	4.0
Children living	3.3	3.3	3.3	2.9	2.8	*5.0*	1.7	1.7	2.6	3.4	2.2	4.5	2.3	3.1	3.3	3.0	3.4
Ohio:																	
Children ever born	3.1	3.1	2.8	4.1	4.3	4.2	2.8	3.1	3.1	3.3	4.2	4.6	4.4	3.3	3.7	2.5	3.2
Children living	2.6	2.6	2.5	3.4	3.5	3.4	2.5	2.8	2.8	2.9	3.7	3.8	3.7	2.9	3.1	2.2	2.6
Oregon:																	
Children ever born	2.7	2.7	2.6	3.2	3.7	3.9	2.5	3.4	2.3	3.0	3.8	4.0	2.7	4.1	3.0	3.2	2.7
Children living	2.5	2.5	2.4	2.9	3.2	3.5	2.3	3.1	2.1	2.7	3.4	3.4	2.5	3.5	2.7	2.8	2.4
Pennsylvania:																	
Children ever born	3.5	3.5	3.1	4.6	5.1	4.8	2.8	3.9	4.0	3.7	4.9	4.9	4.8	4.0	4.1	3.6	3.3
Children living	3.0	3.1	2.7	3.8	4.1	3.9	2.6	3.4	3.4	3.2	4.2	4.1	4.0	3.3	3.4	3.1	2.6
South Carolina:																	
Children ever born	3.7	3.6	3.6	3.3	*3.0*	*2.0*	3.8	*1.5*	2.8	*2.5*	3.8	4.6	*2.3*	3.2	3.5	4.4	3.8
Children living	3.2	3.2	3.2	2.9	*3.0*	*2.0*	3.7	*1.5*	2.4	*2.3*	2.4	4.4	*2.0*	2.9	3.1	3.8	3.3
Utah:																	
Children ever born	3.5	3.5	3.4	4.3	5.1	4.9	2.5	4.6	4.3	3.9	4.6	4.3	*7.5*	4.2	3.9	*1.0*	2.7
Children living	3.2	3.2	3.1	3.8	4.1	4.4	2.2	4.1	3.9	3.5	4.1	3.7	*7.0*	3.8	3.5	*1.0*	2.3
Vermont:																	
Children ever born	3.4	3.4	3.2	4.5	5.3	4.8	4.6	4.0	3.3	4.9	4.2	4.7	4.8	4.2	4.0	--------	*2.0*
Children living	3.0	3.0	2.8	3.9	4.8	4.1	3.9	3.5	2.9	4.5	3.8	3.8	4.4	3.8	3.3	--------	*2.0*
Virginia:																	
Children ever born	3.7	3.6	3.6	3.8	4.7	5.8	2.9	3.4	2.9	4.3	4.1	4.8	3.8	3.4	3.3	3.7	4.0
Children living	3.3	3.2	3.2	3.3	4.1	4.6	2.5	3.0	2.6	3.6	3.4	4.2	3.4	3.1	2.9	3.1	3.4
Washington:																	
Children ever born	2.7	2.7	2.6	3.3	4.4	3.8	2.6	3.2	2.8	3.1	3.7	3.9	4.5	4.3	3.2	3.3	2.6
Children living	2.5	2.5	2.4	3.0	3.8	3.2	2.4	3.0	2.6	2.7	3.4	3.4	3.9	3.7	2.9	3.1	2.4
Wisconsin:																	
Children ever born	3.3	3.3	3.1	4.6	4.5	4.0	4.4	4.5	3.0	3.6	5.1	4.3	5.4	4.1	4.3	3.6	3.3
Children living	3.0	3.0	2.8	4.0	3.9	3.3	3.9	4.1	2.8	3.3	4.5	3.8	4.4	3.6	3.7	3.1	2.7

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[1] Bureau of the Census, Birth Statistics, 1920, p. 15.

[2] Exclusive of Massachusetts where the birth certificate does not show the number living or the number ever born. The birth certificates of Maine and New Hampshire do not show the number of children living.

[3] Not shown on the State certificate.

TABLE 8.—DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN IN ORDER OF BIRTH (FIRST, SECOND, ETC.) PER 1,000 BIRTHS, BY COLOR AND BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF MOTHER, IN THE REGISTRATION AREA:[1] 1920[2]

CHILD IN ORDER OF BIRTH	DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN IN ORDER OF BIRTH PER 1,000 BIRTHS																
	Total	White															Colored
		Total	Country of birth of mother														
			United States	Foreign country												Country not stated	
				Total foreign born	Austria (includes Austrian Poland)	Hungary	Canada	Denmark, Norway, and Sweden	England, Scotland, and Wales	Ireland	Germany (includes German Poland)	Italy	Poland (not specified)	Russia (includes Russian Poland)	Other foreign countries		
Total children	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0
First child	290.6	291.6	324.1	184.8	136.1	145.7	267.1	208.1	312.5	233.9	180.1	157.9	108.4	221.7	233.1	264.6	279.2
Second child	204.4	206.6	217.6	170.4	158.7	167.3	194.9	202.5	218.1	214.0	162.0	125.1	142.2	222.3	183.9	148.1	179.5
Third child	147.9	149.1	147.2	155.7	158.7	158.8	141.5	156.8	146.7	161.7	140.2	135.2	178.9	179.4	154.0	101.1	134.0
Fourth child	105.8	105.9	98.5	130.4	140.2	141.6	103.8	120.8	104.2	129.6	114.4	133.8	157.9	125.2	118.8	84.1	104.5
Fifth child	75.0	74.8	66.9	100.7	111.0	113.4	78.0	93.4	64.3	91.8	88.9	118.9	114.0	82.4	89.3	58.3	77.4
Sixth child	53.9	53.3	46.3	76.5	86.8	84.7	55.9	65.2	46.5	61.7	74.9	95.0	88.2	57.6	65.4	38.0	60.0
Seventh child	38.8	38.3	32.6	57.1	65.5	61.8	43.1	47.8	35.7	42.5	58.2	73.6	67.8	38.5	47.4	41.3	44.5
Eighth child	27.8	27.2	22.8	42.0	49.1	46.9	31.7	36.3	22.7	25.9	52.0	55.1	48.3	26.5	34.1	25.9	34.8
Ninth child	18.9	18.3	15.1	28.8	34.2	31.7	22.6	24.8	16.8	13.3	38.5	37.9	33.8	16.1	25.4	12.1	25.2
Tenth child	12.9	12.4	10.1	20.0	21.6	20.8	20.7	15.6	12.2	11.2	30.2	26.9	21.7	11.1	17.0	4.9	19.2
Eleventh child	7.7	7.3	5.9	12.0	13.0	9.4	11.7	10.1	6.5	5.6	20.7	16.1	14.2	6.6	11.0	6.5	12.2
Twelfth child	4.8	4.4	3.4	7.7	8.8	7.4	10.8	7.2	3.6	2.5	16.3	9.3	8.8	3.5	7.0	4.0	9.0
Thirteenth child	2.6	2.4	1.9	4.0	4.1	3.2	5.5	3.2	1.6	1.5	8.6	5.1	4.8	2.0	4.1	2.4	5.6
Fourteenth child	1.4	1.3	1.0	2.2	2.0	1.4	3.1	1.4	1.6	0.8	4.6	2.9	1.9	1.6	2.5	1.6	3.3
Fifteenth child	0.7	0.6	0.5	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.7	0.7	0.8	0.1	2.2	1.5	1.6	0.5	1.0	--------	1.7
Sixteenth child	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.6	0.4	0.4	1.3	0.3	0.5	0.2	1.3	0.9	0.6	0.4	0.6	--------	0.9
Seventeenth child	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.6	0.6	0.3	1.1	0.3	0.5	0.1	1.0	0.6	0.3	0.5	1.1	--------	0.9
Serial number of child not stated	5.9	5.8	5.7	5.3	8.2	4.1	5.6	5.2	5.3	3.4	5.8	4.3	6.5	4.3	4.3	207.1	8.0

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[1] Exclusive of Massachusetts, which does not show on the birth certificate the number of the child in order of birth.
[2] Bureau of the Census, Birth Statistics, 1920, p. 14.

Table 9.—Number of Children Ever Born, to Mothers of Children Born in 1920, and Number Living and Averages, by Certain Selected Occupations of Father, in the Registration Area: 1920 [1]

[The averages and the numbers born and living are exclusive of the number "not stated"]

Occupation of the father (code number in parentheses)	Total births, 1920	Total number of children ever born	Total number of children living	Average number of children ever born	Average number of children living
All occupations	1,461,604	4,484,055	3,857,555	3.3	2.9
AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY, AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY					
Dairy farmers, farmers, and stock raisers (000–006)	345,519	1,294,785	1,142,511	3.8	3.4
Farm laborers (008–016)	8,613	29,088	24,880	3.5	3.0
EXTRACTION OF MINERALS					
Foremen, overseers, and inspectors (070–072)	1,022	4,528	3,902	4.6	3.9
Operators, officials, and managers (074–078)	584	1,825	1,660	3.2	2.9
Mine operatives (080–092)	47,544	199,396	167,856	4.3	3.6
MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL INDUSTRIES					
Blacksmiths, forgemen, and hammermen (136, 138)	9,132	30,311	25,895	3.6	3.2
Carpenters (148)	33,440	105,767	90,505	3.5	3.1
Electricians (158)	14,496	31,094	27,802	2.3	2.1
Engineers (stationary), cranemen, hoistmen, etc. (164, 166)	14,601	41,552	36,440	3.1	2.8
Foremen and overseers (manufacturing) (178)	9,534	26,614	23,016	3.3	2.9
Laborers (not otherwise specified) (196–358)	244,365	877,082	709,475	3.7	3.1
Machinists, millwrights, toolmakers, mechanics (n. o. s.) (362–366, 374–378)	84,718	195,211	172,181	2.6	2.3
Managers, superintendents, manufacturers, and officials (368–372)	14,142	31,573	28,642	2.5	2.3
Semiskilled operatives (not otherwise specified) (416–576)	129,945	322,384	268,542	3.0	2.6
TRANSPORTATION					
Chauffeurs (610)	21,883	46,302	40,565	2.4	2.2
Laborers (steam and street railroad) (640, 642)	6,629	21,829	17,990	3.6	3.0
Locomotive engineers (644)	2,336	7,817	6,838	3.5	3.1
Officials and superintendents (steam and street railroad) (650, 652)	1,000	2,813	2,522	3.0	2.7
TRADE					
Bankers, brokers, and money lenders (700–705)	5,045	10,774	9,994	2.3	2.1
Commercial travelers (708)	2,525	5,706	5,091	2.4	2.2
Retail dealers (737–786, 795)	63,840	179,869	158,165	3.1	2.8
PUBLIC SERVICE (NOT ELSEWHERE CLASSIFIED)					
Guards, watchmen, doorkeepers (802)	1,502	5,313	4,414	4.1	3.5
Soldiers, sailors, and marines (822)	4,363	6,960	6,141	1.8	1.6
PROFESSIONAL SERVICE					
Clergymen (839)	4,193	13,104	11,679	3.3	3.0
Lawyers, judges, and justices (850)	4,338	9,520	8,761	2.4	2.2
Physicians and surgeons (858)	4,711	9,755	8,850	2.3	2.1
Teachers (school) (862)	4,793	10,077	9,207	2.3	2.1
Technical engineers (civil, electrical, mechanical, mining) (864–870)	5,971	11,448	10,443	2.1	1.9
DOMESTIC AND PERSONAL SERVICE					
Barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists (900)	9,003	26,025	22,458	3.2	2.8
Hotel keepers and managers (914)	1,163	3,698	3,290	3.3	3.0
Janitors and sextons (918)	2,228	7,710	6,403	4.1	3.4
Servants (946–960)	4,352	10,617	8,937	2.7	2.3
CLERICAL OCCUPATIONS					
Bookkeepers, cashiers, and accountants (986, 988)	11,580	21,299	19,580	2.0	1.9
Clerks (except in stores) (990–994)	43,506	85,311	80,288	2.2	2.1
Stenographers and typewriters (999)	632	1,108	1,020	1.9	1.8

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[1] Bureau of the Census, Birth Statistics, 1920, pp. 18 and 19, selected occupations from each group. Code numbers from Classified Index to Occupations, 1920.

As in the statistics of England and Wales,[3] miners head the list and the groups that might be called upper and middle class come near the bottom. Unskilled laborers have a higher average than skilled workmen. These averages, however, can not be compared directly with those given for England and Wales because these are not for completed families and often the women of one group bearing children in any given year may have their families practically filled, while those in another group may not average more than half the children they will ultimately have.

A good illustration of this is found in the composition of the groups designated "foremen, overseers, and inspectors" in the extraction of minerals, and "miners." The former are largely drawn from the older, more skilled, and more dependable miners; hence their wives are older and their families are more nearly complete. But even though these data do not permit of direct comparison of social classes, it is clear that the size of the family tends to become smaller as the social status improves, except where one passes through a lower class in rising to a higher one, as in the case of the mine foremen, etc., mentioned above.

Table 10 gives the ratios of children under 5 to white women 16 to 44 years of age in the United States since 1800.[4]

These ratios show beyond doubt that the decline in the birth rate has been going on in certain parts of this country since 1800, particularly in the industrial States. One other point in Table 10 is important as bringing out a difference not clearly indicated in any of the preceding tables, namely, the differences between the industrial and the agricultural States. As early as 1800 there was a differential birth rate as between these two groups of States, or if not differential birth rate, at least a large difference in their rates of increase because of the higher survival rate of children in the agricultural States.

The data given above, although throwing much light on the processes of population growth in this country, leave much to be desired in respect to completeness and consistency. One must remember, however, that they were not gathered directly by the Federal Government but by the several States, some of which had not yet seen the importance of taking account of their basic population movements. The statistics of births do show, however, the directions in which we may look for significant trends in the processes of our population growth.

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[3] See Appendix.

[4] Whelpton, P. K., "Industrial development and population growth," Social Forces, March and June, 1928.

TABLE 10.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 16 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE IN THE WHITE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES: 1800–1920[1]

YEAR	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 16 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE			
	United States	Agricultural States[2]	Semi-industrial States[3]	Industrial States[4]
	A	B	C	D
1920	489	629	534	458
1910	503	678	537	444
1900	531	706	587	465
1890	541	702	591	460
1880	611	759	640	500
1870	638	718	690	529
1860	705	808	731	595
1850	690	810	613	598
1840	835	966	773	697
1830	877	947	799	619
1820	955	1,036	918	674
1810	1,006	1,048	940	756
1800	1,000	1,043	962	786

[1] For method of computation, see Willcox, W. F., The Change in the Proportion of Children in the United States, American Statistical Association, March, 1911. This table is taken directly from Mr. Whelpton's paper cited on p. 14. This is the reason the age group of women is 16 to 44 instead of 20 to 44 as in the body of the study.

[2] States grouped according to proportion of those gainfully employed engaged in agriculture. The agricultural group in 1800 contained Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana. Additions in 1850, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Florida, Texas, Arkansas; in 1860, West Virginia, Minnesota, Kansas; in 1870, Nebraska; in 1890, North Dakota, South Dakota; in 1900, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Idaho.

[3] The semiindustrial group in 1800 contained New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania. Additions in 1830, Delaware, Maryland, California; in 1870, Virginia, Wisconsin; in 1880, Indiana, Minnesota, Colorado, Utah; in 1900, Kansas, Wyoming, Arizona, Nevada; in 1910, Tennessee, Louisiana; in 1920, Texas, Oklahoma.

[4] The industrial group in 1800 contained Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut. Additions in 1830, New Jersey; in 1840, Pennsylvania; in 1850, Maryland; in 1860, New York; in 1870, Maine, New Hampshire, Delaware; in 1880, Ohio; in 1890, Illinois, Michigan, Colorado; in 1900, Vermont, Indiana, Wisconsin, California; in 1910, Minnesota, Nevada, Washington; in 1920, West Virginia, Florida, Missouri.

METHOD AND SCOPE OF STUDY

The method followed in the study of the relation between the number of children under 5 years of age and the number of women from 20 to 44 years of age, which forms the subject under discussion in the major part of the succeeding chapters, is very simple.

It is well known to students of population statistics that all but a relatively small percentage of the children under 5 enumerated in the census will be the children of women 15 to 44 years of age, that is, of women within the so-called childbearing ages. Hence comparisons of the ratio of children to women for different groups and localities should throw considerable light on the contributions of these different groups and localities to the next generation.

It will be observed at once by the reader that the women in the age group 20 to 44 are made the basis of the ratios used rather than the women 15 to 44. The elimination of the age group 15 to 19 was decided upon after careful consideration of the advantages and disadvantages of its inclusion. Briefly, it appeared that since only 12.5 per cent of the young women 15 to 19 were married, they figured as mothers in very few cases. Hence the group could be omitted from consideration without appreciably changing the resulting picture and the numbers we would have to handle would be more manageable. Further, comparisons between native and foreign-born women would be more accurate if those under 20 years of age were eliminated, since the foreign-born group contains relatively few of them.

Another matter that should be explained is the basis adopted for the allocation of the children of mixed parentage to native and foreign-born women. This point is of particular importance because one of the most interesting comparisons throughout the study is that between native and foreign-born women. After careful consideration it was decided to allocate the children of mixed parentage to native and foreign-born women on the basis of the percentages of the persons of mixed parentage under 21 years of age having native and foreign-born mothers. This seemed to be the best course both because of the fact that the Bureau of the Census had these tabulations available and because no more accurate method, short of an actual tabulation, which was quite impracticable, suggested itself. It is believed that the errors resulting from this method of allocation are not sufficient to affect the results materially when comparing native and foreign-born women and they are of very little significance indeed in comparing different localities. The operation of this method may be made clear by a definite example. Thus in Massachusetts there were, in 1920, 232,144 white persons under 21 of mixed parentage. Of these, 114,522, or 49.3 per cent, had native mothers and 117,622, or 50.7 per cent, had foreign-born mothers. There were in Massachusetts in 1920, 61,778 children under 5 of mixed parentage. These were allocated to native and foreign-born mothers on the basis of the percentages given above; namely, 49.3 per cent to native mothers and 50.7 per cent to foreign-born mothers.

It will be well to say a word here regarding the meaning and the uses of the ratio of children to women. It is by no means the same as the birth rate, although in communities of similar age and sex composition and having practically identical death rates, the ratio of children to women varies directly with the birth rate; that is, under given conditions, a community with a birth rate of 20 would have a ratio two-thirds that of a community having a birth rate of 30.

The ratio of children under 5 to women 20 to 44 years of age is affected by three largely independent variables: (*a*) The specific birth rate; (*b*) the death rate of children under 5; and (*c*) the age distribution of the women within the group 20 to 44 years of age. The ratios of children to women could only be translated into terms of birth rates if the mortality of children under 5 were the same in all groups and if the age distributions of the women in the basic group were also the same. These ratios can, however, be used for comparative purposes if we bear in mind their limitations. What these ratios really measure is the effective reproduction of the different groups.

When due allowance is made for the number of children needed to replace the people who die (see Chap. VIII) in a given group, then the size of the excess shows us the number of children available for increase in that group. When this excess (or deficiency) is expressed in terms of the ratio it bears to the number needed for replacement, then we have an index of increase; using their index of increase we may compare different communities and get a fairly accurate notion of their relative rates of increase. The ratio of children to women is fully as useful as the birth rate in studying the effective reproduction of groups because it is less affected by the abnormal age and sex composition than the crude birth rate and also because the census count of the groups dealt with here is undoubtedly more accurate [5] than the registration of births in a considerable part of the registration area. Besides, there is a considerable part of our population for which we do not have any birth data in 1920.

By way of illustrating the use of these ratios of children to women in ascertaining the reproduction of different groups we may cite the fact that Massachusetts had a crude birth rate of 23.6 in 1920, and Kansas one of 22.3.[6] Death rates of children under 5 were 21.1 and 12.9, respectively. This difference in child mortality, together with differences in the age constitution of the women 20 to 44, resulted in Massachusetts having fewer children under 5 per 1,000 white women 20 to 44 than Kansas, as shown by the ratios of children of 490 and 582, respectively.[7] The difference in these ratios is 19 per cent in favor of Kansas, although the crude birth rate showed that Massachusetts was in the lead by a little more than 5 per cent. Thus it appears that the study of the ratio of children to women will throw considerable new light on the actual processes of population growth in the United States.

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[5] Lest what has just been said give a false impression of the accuracy of the census count of children it will be well to note that a study to determine omissions in Washington, D. C., indicates a considerable underenumeration of young children. This may possibly amount to as much as 5 per cent of all children under 5 among whites and 13 per cent among Negroes. This study, however, was very limited in scope and does not justify our changing the ratios derived from the published census results. Moreover, these omissions are not equally great in all localities. For this reason the ratios of children to women in the different groups of the white population used in this study will not be corrected for omissions, for it is believed that in attempting to do so on the basis of the study referred to, many errors would be introduced which would render the ratios less reliable than they are without corrections. When, however, comparisons are made between groups not equally affected by underenumeration, for example, whites and Negroes, or when the absolute size of the ratio is of great importance, attention will be called to this fact of underenumeration. See United States Abridged Life Tables, 1918–1920, p. 9.

[6] Bureau of the Census, Birth Statistics, 1920, pp. 44, 45.

[7] Calculated from Detailed Table 1.

II

RATIOS OF CHILDREN TO WOMEN, BY STATES[1]

FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCE POPULATION GROWTH

It has been known for several decades to students of our population growth that foreign-born women raise larger families than native women. This is so obvious in any city that most observers are prone to conclude out of hand that the older stock everywhere is dying out. This has been the subject of much exaggeration and has had the effect of focusing attention upon the nationality aspects of our population growth to the almost complete ignoring of aspects of equal, if not greater, importance. Particularly have the social and economic conditions which encourage or repress the growth of population been ignored. These factors are of greater importance than the nationality factors, chiefly for two reasons.

In the first place, unbiased study reveals little in the nature of fundamental genetic differences between our older native stock and the newer foreign-born groups. Differences in temperament and training are likely to issue in different mental attitudes toward many of the most fundamental aspects of life, but such differences in values assigned to the "goods" of life certainly can not be attributed to essential superiorities or inferiorities of genetic constitution. If, therefore, we ever wish to exercise an effective control over the processes of population growth we can not look upon the exclusion of certain groups of foreign born as more than a preliminary step taken to gain time for a more fundamental study of the processes of internal population growth as they are now being determined by the selective forces at work.

In the second place, although the genetic constitution of individuals and groups can not, so far as we know, be changed by anything except selective breeding, the processes of population growth can be controlled to a considerable extent by conscious modification of the social and economic conditions of every day life.

In this study the whole question of the genetic constitution of different groups and nationalities will be put aside and attention will be focused on those economic and social conditions which seem to have more or less influence in determining the growth (or decline) of population in different communities in this country at the present time.

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[1] In order not to complicate the discussion unduly only white women will be considered in the greater part of this monograph. The discussion of the ratios of children to women among Negroes and the "Other colored" in our population will be found in Chapter VII.

TABLE 11.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY NATIVITY AND MARITAL CONDITION; NATIVE-FOREIGN RATIO INDEX; AND PER CENT OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITES IN THE TOTAL POPULATION, BY DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1920 [1]

DIVISION AND STATE	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				INDEX, FOREIGN-BORN TO NATIVE WHITE [2]		Per cent of foreign-born whites in total population
	All women		Married, widowed, or divorced women		All women	Married, widowed, or divorced women	
	Native white	Foreign-born white	Native white	Foreign-born white			
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
UNITED STATES [3]	538	779	725	911	1.45	1.26	13.0
NEW ENGLAND	393	747	632	921	1.90	1.46	25.3
Maine	515	732	695	896	1.42	1.29	14.0
New Hampshire	435	713	634	889	1.64	1.40	20.6
Vermont	525	829	707	961	1.58	1.36	12.6
Massachusetts	359	700	621	886	1.95	1.43	28.0
Rhode Island	363	755	615	939	2.08	1.53	28.7
Connecticut	371	886	593	1,014	2.39	1.71	27.3
MIDDLE ATLANTIC	429	789	633	935	1.84	1.48	22.1
New York	362	664	558	820	1.83	1.47	26.8
New Jersey	402	833	590	945	2.07	1.60	23.4
Pennsylvania	512	1,043	723	1,158	2.04	1.60	15.9
EAST NORTH CENTRAL	493	811	662	910	1.65	1.37	15.0
Ohio	482	866	638	951	1.80	1.49	11.8
Indiana	519	888	659	968	1.71	1.47	5.1
Illinois	450	734	629	844	1.63	1.34	18.6
Michigan	524	859	680	956	1.64	1.41	19.8
Wisconsin	548	862	786	955	1.57	1.22	17.5
WEST NORTH CENTRAL	554	849	745	967	1.53	1.30	10.9
Minnesota	538	831	811	959	1.54	1.18	20.4
Iowa	546	806	732	914	1.48	1.25	9.4
Missouri	510	609	664	704	1.19	1.06	5.5
North Dakota	722	1,199	987	1,333	1.66	1.35	20.3
South Dakota	670	980	885	1,102	1.46	1.25	12.9
Nebraska	578	836	764	940	1.45	1.23	11.5
Kansas	574	849	730	943	1.48	1.29	6.2
SOUTH ATLANTIC	713	831	911	941	1.17	1.03	2.3
Delaware	491	997	645	1,112	2.03	1.72	8.9
Maryland	507	753	697	874	1.49	1.25	7.0
Virginia	688	723	899	811	1.05	0.90	1.3
West Virginia	788	1,231	975	1,298	1.56	1.33	4.2
North Carolina	827	606	1,062	753	0.73	0.71	0.3
South Carolina	777	687	992	790	0.88	0.80	0.4
Georgia	731	560	909	658	0.77	0.72	0.6
Florida	627	636	758	739	1.01	0.97	4.4
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL	734	710	910	817	0.97	0.90	0.8
Kentucky	722	678	899	806	0.94	0.90	1.3
Tennessee	706	614	880	703	0.87	0.80	0.7
Alabama	786	771	959	867	0.98	0.90	0.8
Mississippi	740	851	924	953	1.15	1.03	0.4
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL	682	758	822	892	1.11	1.09	4.5
Arkansas	798	723	928	861	0.91	0.93	0.8
Louisiana	659	785	846	924	1.19	1.09	2.5
Oklahoma	722	807	835	885	1.12	1.06	2.0
Texas	630	751	772	889	1.19	1.15	7.7
MOUNTAIN	631	848	775	938	1.34	1.21	13.6
Montana	620	855	762	938	1.38	1.23	17.1
Idaho	729	870	863	950	1.19	1.10	9.0
Wyoming	593	890	698	948	1.50	1.36	13.0
Colorado	516	831	653	922	1.61	1.41	12.4
New Mexico	757	875	915	968	1.16	1.06	8.1
Arizona	580	830	691	930	1.43	1.35	23.4
Utah	788	883	983	993	1.12	1.01	12.6
Nevada	447	719	537	770	1.61	1.43	19.1
PACIFIC	388	582	504	677	1.50	1.34	18.6
Washington	462	591	583	674	1.28	1.16	18.4
Oregon	463	583	581	673	1.26	1.16	13.0
California	341	579	451	679	1.70	1.51	19.9

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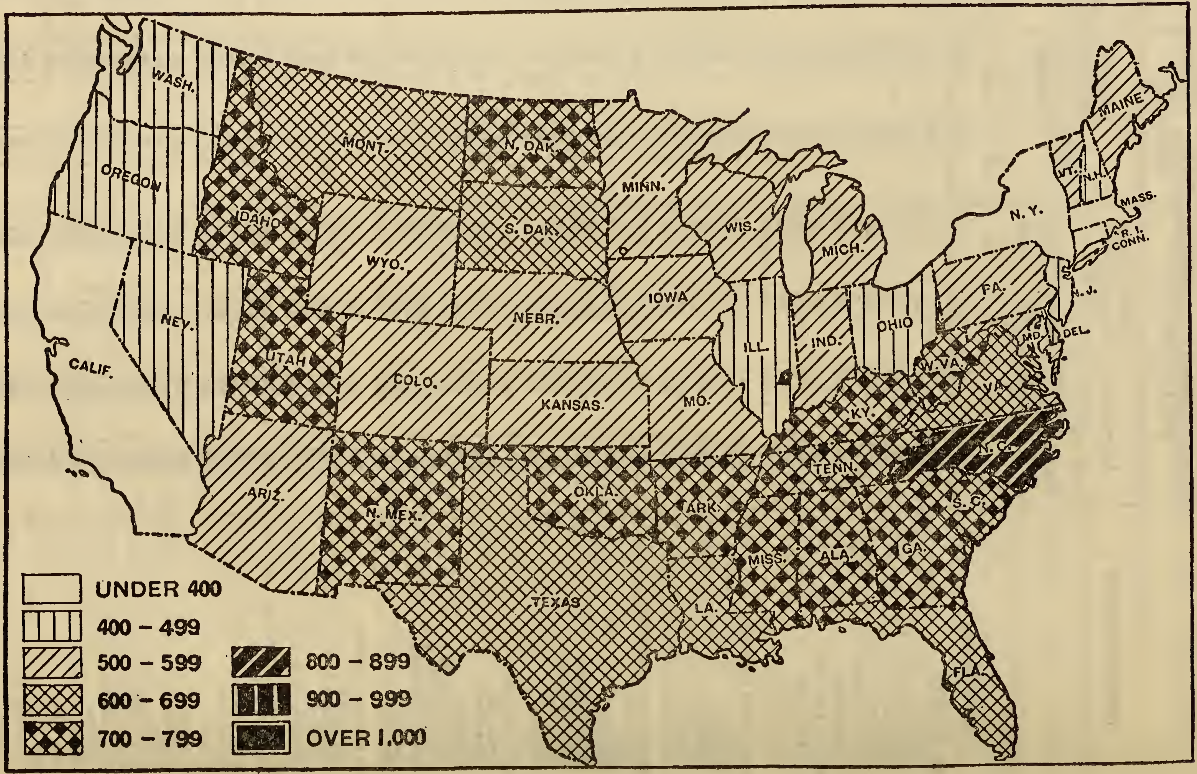
[1] Columns A, B, C, and D from Detailed Table I; column E obtained by dividing column B by column A; column F by dividing column D by column C; column G from Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Population, 1920, p. 33.

[2] Obtained by dividing the number of children per 1,000 foreign-born white women by the number per 1,000 native white women.

[3] District of Columbia included. Not shown separately.

Figure 1.—Children Under 5 per 1,000 Native White Women 20 to 44 Years of Age: 1920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NEBR.
KANSAS.
OKLA.
TEXAS
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N. Y.
MD.
DEL.
N. J.
CONN.
R. I.
MASS.
VT.
N. H.
MAINE
UNDER 400
400 – 499
500 – 599
600 – 699
700 – 799
800 – 899
900 – 999
OVER 1,000

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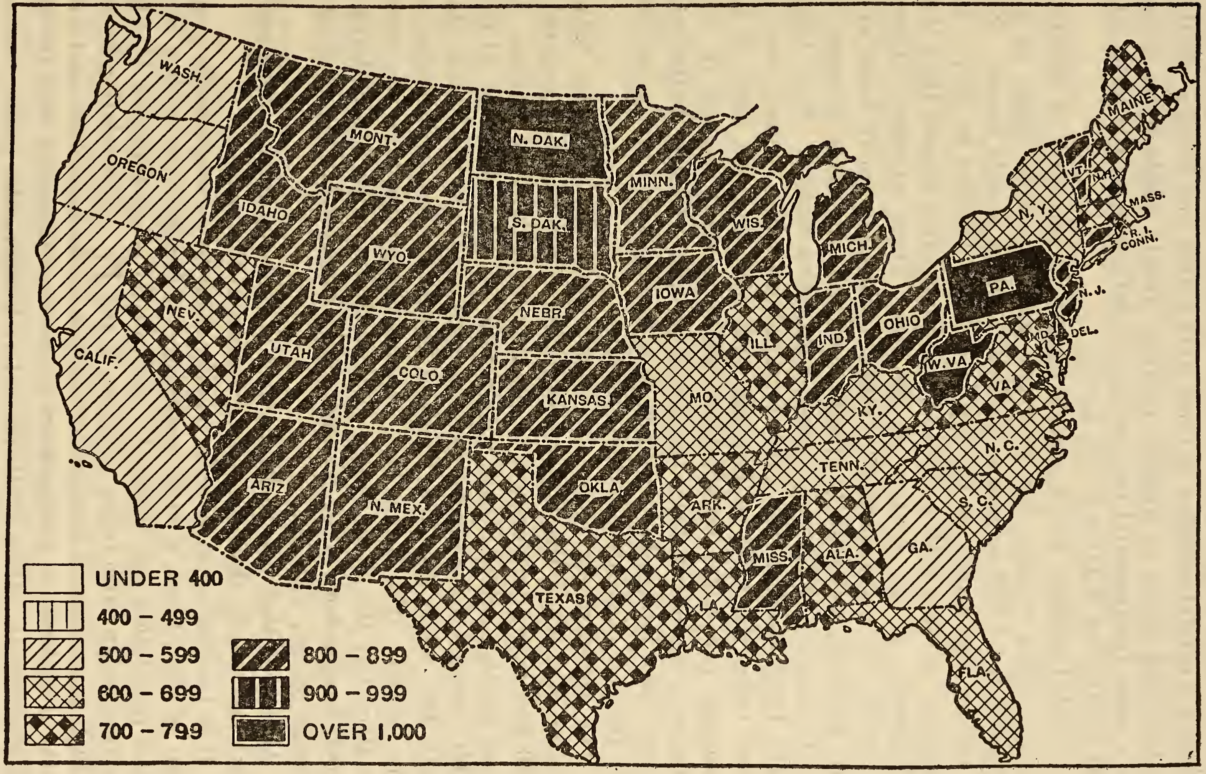
Figure 2.—Children Under 5 per 1,000 Foreign-Born White Women 20 to 44 Years of Age: 1920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700 – 799
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OVER 1,000

NATIVE AND FOREIGN-BORN WOMEN

Table 11 proves beyond question that being native or foreign born is only one factor in determining the number of children women bear. Indeed a careful scrutiny of these data makes one wonder whether it is the chief factor or whether nativity merely masks other elements of a more fundamental nature in their influence on the birth rate or the number of children in the family.

North Carolina, which stands highest in the ratio of children to native white women, has over two and two-fifths times as many children per 1,000 women as California which stands lowest. North Carolina also stands at the top in ratio of children to native white married[2] women with a ratio two and one-third greater than that of California, at the bottom of the list. These extreme differences between States as regards the ratio of children to native white women are, however, but slightly greater than the differences between them in the ratios of children to foreign-born white women. West Virginia with 1,231 children per 1,000 foreign-born white women, has more than twice the ratio of Georgia with 560; and the ratio of 1,333 children per 1,000 foreign-born white married women in North Dakota is more than twice the 658 of Georgia. Clearly neither native women nor foreign-born women is a homogeneous group as regards the number of children in their families.

The comparisons made above represent the extremes between States, but when the larger geographic divisions are compared we still find marked differences in the ratio of children to women. The East South Central States, with a ratio of 734 children to all native white women, have almost twice as high a ratio as the Pacific States, with 388, while the New England States are but little higher than the Pacific. (See Table 11.) Among the foreign born the range is smaller, but the West North Central States, with 849 children per 1,000 foreign-born white women, stand considerably higher than the Pacific States, with 582.

About all that can really be said is that the foreign-born women vary less widely than the native women in this respect.

It is interesting to note in passing, that in a considerable proportion of the States, a high percentage of foreign-born whites in the total population (see Table 11, column G) is accompanied by a high native-foreign ratio index (columns E and F). This relation between a high percentage of foreign-born whites in the population and a high ratio of children to foreign-born mothers as compared with the ratio of children to native mothers (native-foreign ratio index) does not hold for all States. The Pacific States are a conspicuous exception. But in the Southern States where there are practically no immigrants and in the Northeastern States where there are large numbers of immigrants, this relationship between a large or a small proportion of foreign born in the population and a high or low native-foreign ratio index is very clearly marked. Of the New England States, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut have considerably higher native-foreign ratio indexes (see Table 11) than Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, and they also have a larger proportion of foreign born. In the central part of the country and through the Mountain States, there are some exceptions to this relation, for example, Ohio and Indiana, with smaller proportions of foreign-born whites in the population than Illinois and Michigan, yet with higher native-foreign ratio indexes. These differences are not very great. Nevertheless, the tendency of the native women to have fewer children where immigrants are numerous, or perhaps of foreign-born women to have many children where the foreign born are numerous, is sufficiently apparent to suggest that there is some truth in General Walker's theory[3] that the immigrants entering a community are not a direct addition to its numbers but rather serve as substitutes for births which would have taken place had they been excluded.

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[2] Attention is called to the fact that in this discussion the term "married women" is used to include also widowed and divorced women.

It appears, however, that there are other conditions more important in determining the native birth rate of communities than the presence or absence of immigrants in considerable numbers. It seems probable that the very nature of modern commerce and industry is such as to cause a decline in the birth rate among the people engaged in them. It is one of the chief contentions of this study that the industry and commerce of to-day, issuing as they do in city living, undermine the traditional family life of people engaged in them, with the consequence that the individual is driven more and more to consider his own interests, apart from his relations to life at large. When once this mode of valuing one's position in life becomes common, a decline in the size of families is inevitable.

The native-foreign ratio indexes in columns E and F of Table 11 will repay further consideration. In most cases these indexes show a very much larger ratio of children to foreign-born white women than to native white women.[4] In the entire United States, for all women 20 to 44, the index is 1.45. This means that the native white women would have to raise almost one-half more children than they do in order to equal the foreign-born white women. The largest index, indicating the greatest excess in the ratio of children to foreign-born women over the ratio of children to native women is in Connecticut. Here the native white women would have to raise two and one-third times the children they now do to equal the ratio of their foreign-born neighbors. In several of the Southern States, on the other hand, the index is less than 1.0, indicating that the native white women raise more children in proportion to their own numbers than the foreign-born white women, and in the remainder of the Southern States, as also in Utah, Idaho, and Missouri, the indexes approach 1.0, indicating practically identical ratios of children in the two groups. It is in the urban industrial States of the Northeast that the native-foreign ratio index is especially high.

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[3] Walker, Francis A., Discussions on Economics and Statistics, Vol. II, pp. 422 and 441.

[4] It is rather likely that the underenumeration of white children under 5, referred to in Chap. I, is greater in the case of the foreign born than in the case of the natives. If so, these indexes would be larger and in general the comparisons between the foreign born and the natives made in this study would understate the actual differences between them. Inasmuch as we have no indication how far this is the case no allowance can be made in the figures used; but the reader may be cautioned that the differences here given are a minimum.

MARITAL CONDITION AND PARENTAGE

The native-foreign ratio index is always greater for all women than for married women, due to the fact that a considerably larger proportion of foreign-born white women than of native white women are married. Table 12 shows these differences for the more important nativity groups. For the United States as a whole 74.2 per cent of the native white women are married while 85.5 per cent of the foreign-born women are married. This fact will account for the difference between the two indexes referred to above (Table 11, columns E and F, 1.45 and 1.26) for the United States. The larger the proportion of married women in a given age group in any population, the more closely the ratio of children to all women will approach the ratio of children to married women.

A native-foreign ratio index of 1.26 for married women in the United States means that the children (under 5 years of age) among the foreign-born white married women are one-fourth more numerous than those of native white married women. This is certainly an important difference, though not as large as is generally supposed. The comparisons usually made between the native and foreign-born in regard to size of families are based on data gathered in the cities of the Northeast industrial States, where, as we shall see, the ratio of children to foreign-born women is greatly in excess of that of native women (Chaps. III and IV). When all States are considered, as is done here, the relatively large families of the natives in the Southern States and many of the Western States bring the ratio of children to native white women much closer to the ratio for foreign-born white women than is the case in the more highly industrialized sections of the country. This is clear when the native-foreign ratio indexes for the New England and the Middle Atlantic States are compared with those for the Southern, Mountain, and West North Central States.

In the case of the foreign-born women it is easy to understand why a very large proportion of them should be married: to find any considerable number of them who were not married would be the surprising thing. They come to this country largely as the wives of immigrants. Comparatively few immigrant women over 20 years of age are single. As for the foreign-born girls under 20 most of them live in a community which is essentially foreign. It is but natural that they should be guided in their conduct by the customs of the "old country" as expressed in the wishes of their parents and marry at a rather early age.

It is not such an easy matter to account for the lower proportion of married women in the native population—especially for the very low proportion among the native white women of foreign or mixed parentage. Among the native white population of native parentage we would expect that the percentage married would be somewhat lower than among the foreign born. There are always a considerable number of women who do not marry because of poor health. Such women do not migrate; hence, they are largely absent from our foreign-born population. Furthermore, a certain family and community pressure favoring early marriage which, apparently, is still exerted on girls of foreign birth is largely removed in the case of native women of native parentage. A certain number of these do not marry until relatively late in life and thus cut down the proportion of married women at the ages when they are most likely to contribute children to the next generation. Besides, in the native white population of native parentage, the proportion of young women 20 to 24, that is, below the age at which marriage is general among natives, is a much larger part of all women 20 to 44 than among the foreign-born women. These factors will go far to explain the differences between the foreign-born white women and the native white women of native parentage in proportion of married women. They do not, however, throw any light on the differences between States in their proportions of married women.

TABLE 12.—PER CENT MARRIED AND RANK OF WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY NATIVITY, FOR DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1920[1]

DIVISION AND STATE	PER CENT MARRIED AND RANK							
	Native white						Foreign-born white	
	Total		Native parentage		Foreign or mixed parentage			
	Married	Rank	Married	Rank	Married	Rank	Married	Rank
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
UNITED STATES[2]	74.2	-------	77.0	-------	67.3	-------	85.5	------
NEW ENGLAND	62.2	-------	67.7	-------	56.1	-------	81.1	------
Maine	74.1	36	76.7	33	65.9	39	81.7	43
New Hampshire	68.6	42	73.2	40	60.6	45	80.2	47
Vermont	74.2	35	75.5	37	70.4	29	86.3	34
Massachusetts	57.9	48	63.0	48	53.5	48	79.0	48
Rhode Island	59.1	47	64.4	47	55.3	47	80.4	45
Connecticut	62.5	46	66.6	46	58.3	46	87.3	27
MIDDLE ATLANTIC	67.7	-------	70.8	-------	62.8	-------	84.5	------
New York	64.8	45	68.0	44	61.1	44	81.0	44
New Jersey	68.2	43	71.1	42	64.4	43	88.2	25
Pennsylvania	70.9	40	73.0	41	65.3	41	90.0	13
EAST NORTH CENTRAL	74.7	-------	76.7	-------	70.2	-------	89.0	------
Ohio	75.6	32	77.1	32	70.8	28	91.0	8
Indiana	78.7	22	79.7	21	72.9	20	91.7	4
Illinois	71.6	39	75.0	38	66.8	38	86.9	29
Michigan	77.2	26	79.7	22	74.0	15	89.8	15
Wisconsin	69.8	41	67.9	43	71.0	27	90.2	10
WEST NORTH CENTRAL	74.5	-------	77.1	-------	69.9	-------	88.0	------
Minnesota	66.3	44	68.0	45	65.4	40	86.6	31
Iowa	74.6	34	75.9	36	72.1	23	88.3	24
Missouri	76.7	27	78.5	25	69.8	30	86.4	33
North Dakota	73.2	37	76.6	35	71.3	25	90.0	12
South Dakota	75.7	30	77.4	31	74.1	13	88.9	21
Nebraska	75.6	31	77.8	28	72.6	21	88.9	23
Kansas	78.7	21	80.1	20	73.7	17	90.0	14
SOUTH ATLANTIC	78.2	-------	78.7	-------	69.6	-------	88.3	------
Delaware	76.0	29	77.8	29	67.4	36	89.6	16
Maryland	72.8	38	74.0	39	67.5	35	86.1	35
Virginia	76.5	28	76.7	34	69.6	31	89.2	19
West Virginia	80.8	12	81.3	15	71.8	24	94.9	1
North Carolina	77.9	24	78.0	27	68.6	34	80.4	46
South Carolina	78.3	23	78.5	26	67.4	37	86.9	30
Georgia	80.5	13	80.7	17	69.2	32	85.1	38
Florida	82.7	8	83.4	8	77.2	19	86.1	36
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL	80.7	-------	81.2	-------	67.9	-------	86.9	------
Kentucky	80.4	14	81.4	14	65.2	42	84.1	41
Tennessee	80.3	15	80.6	18	69.0	33	87.3	28
Alabama	82.0	9	82.2	11	73.7	18	89.0	20
Mississippi	80.1	17	80.3	19	73.1	19	89.3	17
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL	82.9	-------	83.6	-------	76.5	-------	85.0	------
Arkansas	86.0	2	86.3	2	77.3	8	83.9	42
Louisiana	77.8	25	78.7	24	71.2	26	85.0	39
Oklahoma	86.4	1	86.8	1	80.8	6	91.2	7
Texas	81.7	10	82.4	10	76.7	11	84.5	40
MOUNTAIN	81.5	-------	82.7	-------	78.9	-------	90.4	------
Montana	81.3	11	83.5	7	78.1	7	91.2	6
Idaho	84.4	4	84.9	4	83.2	1	91.6	5
Wyoming	84.9	3	85.9	3	82.2	3	93.9	2
Colorado	79.1	20	81.0	16	74.0	16	90.1	11
New Mexico	82.8	7	83.4	9	77.2	10	90.4	9
Arizona	83.9	5	84.6	5	81.9	4	89.3	18
Utah	80.2	16	79.1	23	81.4	5	88.9	22
Nevada	83.3	6	83.8	6	82.7	2	93.3	3
PACIFIC	77.1	-------	79.2	-------	73.2	-------	85.9	------
Washington	79.3	19	81.8	13	74.8	12	87.7	26
Oregon	79.7	18	82.0	12	74.1	14	86.6	32
California	75.6	33	77.5	30	72.4	22	85.2	37

[1] Columns A, C, E, and G from Detailed Table II.
[2] District of Columbia included. Not shown separately.

Table 13.—Per Cent Distribution of Urban and Rural Population, by Nativity and Parentage and, for Urban, by Size of Community, by Divisions: 1920 [1]

DIVISION	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION [2]							
	Total population	Rural population	Urban population					
			Total	Size of community				
				500,000 and over	100,000 to 500,000	25,000 to 100,000	10,000 to 25,000	2,500 to 10,000
UNITED STATES:								
Native white	76.7	79.5	74.1	66.9	73.9	75.9	78.7	81.6
Native parentage	55.3	65.9	45.2	29.3	45.7	49.3	54.1	60.9
Foreign or mixed parentage	21.5	13.6	28.9	37.6	28.2	26.5	24.6	20.6
Foreign-born white	13.0	6.5	19.1	28.4	17.2	16.9	14.2	11.3
NEW ENGLAND:								
Native white	73.6	84.5	70.7	65.7	67.0	70.1	74.4	77.6
Native parentage	37.9	60.9	31.8	24.3	26.0	30.6	36.7	44.0
Foreign or mixed parentage	35.7	23.6	38.9	41.4	41.0	39.5	37.6	33.6
Foreign-born white	25.3	14.9	28.0	31.9	30.8	29.0	25.1	21.8
MIDDLE ATLANTIC:								
Native white	75.2	86.4	71.4	65.2	74.1	76.5	78.9	82.2
Native parentage	43.3	65.4	35.8	26.3	36.8	44.6	48.0	54.4
Foreign or mixed parentage	31.9	21.0	35.5	38.9	37.2	31.9	31.0	27.8
Foreign-born white	22.1	12.0	25.4	30.8	23.6	20.8	18.6	15.9
EAST NORTH CENTRAL:								
Native white	82.5	90.6	77.3	66.1	80.1	81.5	84.9	87.3
Native parentage	54.9	69.1	45.8	26.0	51.2	53.5	58.2	63.4
Foreign or mixed parentage	27.6	21.5	31.5	40.1	28.9	27.9	26.7	23.9
Foreign-born white	15.0	8.4	19.2	29.7	14.8	15.7	12.8	10.9
WEST NORTH CENTRAL:								
Native white	86.5	88.9	82.6	77.5	78.3	84.8	86.0	87.4
Native parentage	59.6	62.0	55.6	46.5	47.6	59.7	62.5	64.2
Foreign or mixed parentage	26.9	26.9	27.0	31.0	30.7	25.0	23.5	23.2
Foreign-born white	10.9	9.8	12.8	13.4	16.6	12.4	9.8	10.2
SOUTH ATLANTIC:								
Native white	66.7	65.9	68.4	73.8	66.9	64.5	69.2	70.2
Native parentage	62.8	64.4	59.0	51.6	56.1	57.4	64.9	66.6
Foreign or mixed parentage	4.0	1.5	9.5	22.2	10.7	7.1	4.4	3.6
Foreign-born white	2.3	1.0	5.1	11.4	5.9	4.0	2.4	2.2
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL:								
Native white	70.8	71.3	68.9	--------	66.4	72.6	64.0	72.4
Native parentage	68.5	70.5	61.7	--------	55.9	62.5	60.3	69.0
Foreign or mixed parentage	2.3	0.9	7.2	--------	10.5	10.1	3.7	3.4
Foreign-born white	0.8	0.3	2.4	--------	3.7	2.9	1.4	1.2
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL:								
Native white	74.8	74.9	74.3	--------	70.5	73.0	74.6	79.1
Native parentage	68.0	69.5	64.1	--------	55.4	62.6	66.4	73.1
Foreign or mixed parentage	6.8	5.4	10.2	--------	15.1	10.4	8.2	6.0
Foreign-born white	4.5	3.3	7.4	--------	9.5	9.6	6.9	4.0
MOUNTAIN:								
Native white	82.7	82.5	83.1	--------	82.6	80.1	83.3	84.6
Native parentage	60.0	61.6	57.2	--------	53.6	52.7	58.0	61.7
Foreign or mixed parentage	22.7	20.9	25.9	--------	29.0	27.4	25.3	22.9
Foreign-born white	13.6	12.8	14.9	--------	15.2	17.0	14.7	13.9
PACIFIC:								
Native white	77.6	78.8	76.9	72.4	76.0	78.9	81.3	82.0
Native parentage	51.9	55.5	49.7	42.6	47.4	52.1	58.5	59.1
Foreign or mixed parentage	25.7	23.3	27.2	29.8	28.7	26.7	22.8	22.9
Foreign-born white	18.6	16.7	19.7	23.3	20.5	18.0	16.2	15.5

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[1] Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Population, 1920, pp. 90–93.

[2] The per cents do not add to 100 because figures for "Negroes" and "Other colored" are omitted.

The differences between States in the proportion of married women of the same nativity group are to be explained largely on the basis of the degree of rurality of the State. The most casual inspection of Table 12 will show that, in general, the highly industrialized States rank low in the proportion of married women in all nativity groups, while the rural States rank high. If columns E and F in Table 15 (the per cents of the white population that are rural) are studied in connection with Table 12, the correspondence in the native population between a high marriage rate, a high percentage of rural population and a high ratio of children to native white women, is quite marked, and is very significant as will be shown in due time. At present, however, particular attention is called to the fact that, as a rule, a State holds much the same rank in the proportion of married women in each of the four nativity groups considered here although, as would be expected, there are a good many exceptions in the case of the foreign-born women (Table 12). Massachusetts, for example, is the lowest (48) in all four groups; New York is 44 in three groups and 45 in the other. The Northeastern States are generally quite low in all groups, the foreign-born women in Pennsylvania being the outstanding exception. At the other extreme, the West South Central and Mountain States are, with a few exceptions, high in all groups.

In general, the conditions that seem to favor a high marriage rate are those existing where agriculture is the leading interest of the State and those discouraging marriage are urban living and non-agricultural work.

The fact that in all but two States (Wisconsin and Utah) the proportion of married women among the native born of foreign or mixed parentage is lower than among the native white women of native parentage is to be explained in part by the difference in the living conditions of these two groups. Table 13 shows that the native born of foreign or mixed parentage live much more largely in cities than the native born of native parentage. Briefly, whereas the native whites of foreign or mixed parentage constitute 21.5 per cent of the total population, they are 28.9 per cent of the urban but only 13.6 per cent of the rural population. In cities of over 500,000 they are 37.6 per cent of the population and it is precisely in the larger cities that marriage is least frequent as can be seen by referring to Table 21.

Table 14.—Per Cent and Rank of Native White Women 10 Years of Age and Over Gainfully Employed, by Parentage, for Divisions and States: 1920 [1]

DIVISION AND STATE	WOMEN 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER			
	Native white—native parentage		Native white—foreign or mixed parentage	
	Per cent gainfully employed	Rank	Per cent gainfully employed	Rank
United States [2]	17.2	-----	24.8	----
New England	25.0	-----	36.0	----
Maine	19.1	10	25.8	8
New Hampshire	22.4	5	34.4	3
Vermont	18.8	13	22.8	14
Massachusetts	28.2	2	37.8	2
Rhode Island	28.5	1	40.1	1
Connecticut	25.5	3	34.2	4
Middle Atlantic	22.2	-----	28.5	----
New York	25.2	4	30.5	5
New Jersey	22.0	6	28.9	6
Pennsylvania	20.0	9	24.8	9
East North Central	17.3	-----	22.9	----
Ohio	17.2	20	21.5	17
Indiana	15.1	28	18.8	28
Illinois	18.0	17	27.0	7
Michigan	18.2	16	20.7	22
Wisconsin	19.0	11	20.8	21
West North Central	15.3	-----	18.3	----
Minnesota	18.8	14	21.2	19
Iowa	15.3	26	16.4	34
Missouri	15.5	25	22.6	15
North Dakota	14.5	33	14.3	44
South Dakota	14.3	34	14.2	45
Nebraska	15.0	30	15.8	38
Kansas	13.3	37	14.1	46
South Atlantic	15.4	-----	21.6	----
Delaware	17.2	21	23.7	11
Maryland	19.0	12	24.7	10
South Atlantic—Con.				
Virginia	12.9	39	19.1	27
West Virginia	10.5	48	15.5	41
North Carolina	16.4	23	18.5	29
South Carolina	20.4	8	20.5	24
Georgia	16.2	24	21.0	20
Florida	12.9	40	19.4	25
East South Central	12.5	-----	20.9	----
Kentucky	10.9	46	23.4	12
Tennessee	11.7	45	19.2	26
Alabama	15.2	27	16.2	37
Mississippi	14.1	35	15.8	39
West South Central	12.8	-----	16.4	----
Arkansas	12.0	43	15.7	40
Louisiana	12.9	41	17.7	32
Oklahoma	12.1	42	13.9	47
Texas	13.4	36	16.6	33
Mountain	14.4	-----	17.1	----
Montana	14.7	32	17.9	31
Idaho	11.8	44	13.1	48
Wyoming	14.9	31	16.3	35
Colorado	17.1	22	20.7	23
New Mexico	10.7	47	16.3	36
Arizona	15.1	29	15.0	42
Utah	13.3	38	14.8	43
Nevada	17.8	18	18.5	30
Pacific	19.9	-----	22.7	----
Washington	18.4	15	21.3	18
Oregon	17.7	19	21.9	16
California	21.1	7	23.4	13

[1] Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. IV, Population, 1920, p. 362.

[2] District of Columbia included; not shown separately.

Table 19 (Chap. III) shows that in cities over 100,000 the differences in the proportion of native white married women of native parentage and native white married women of foreign or mixed parentage, are considerably less than between the same groups in the States. (Table 12, Chap. II.) Thus in New York State the per cent of married native white women of native parentage exceeds the per cent of married native white women of foreign or mixed parentage by 6.9 points but in New York City by only 3.2 points, in Buffalo by 1.9 points, in Rochester by 3.5 points, in Syracuse by 6.1 points, and in Albany by 2.4 points. Thus, the excess in the big cities of the State averages just about half of that in the State as a whole. In Rhode Island the per cent excess of married native white women of native parentage is 9.1 points and in Providence 7.6 points. If one goes through these Tables

(12 and 19) and bears in mind the date in Table 13 on the proportions of the different nativity groups living in communities of different sizes, it becomes increasingly clear that a considerable part of the difference between the per cents of native white women of native parentage who are married and the per cents of native white women of foreign or mixed parentage who are married is due to the fact that the latter live chiefly in the cities.

The reasons for the differences in proportion of married women in the cities will be discussed in the following chapter. The fact that native white women of foreign or mixed parentage find it more generally necessary to work at gainful occupations than native white women of native parentage affects the comparative marriage rate. Since the economic difficulties encountered in setting up a home and maintaining it in an industralized community probably fall more heavily upon the children of immigrants than upon those of the native born, it seems natural that these children of foreign or mixed parentage should show greater hesitancy in undertaking this enterprise and should be more frequently employed outside the home than native women of native parentage. (See Table 14.)

Still another factor that may contribute to the greater reluctance of women of foreign or mixed parentage to marry is the probably greater lack of knowledge of birth-control methods on their part than on the part of women of native parentage. There may be also selective factors in marriage which tend to lower the rate for the native women of foreign or mixed parentage, such as general disorganization of life attendant upon being reared in a foreign family in an environment where everything is a misfit to some extent.

The points just discussed probably account in large measure for the differences in the proportion of married women in the different nativity and locality groups. As the discussion proceeds it will be found that some of these factors are also important in explaining differences in the ratios of children to women in the different groups. The reasonable inference from this fact appears to be that many of the same conditions which lead women to postpone or forego marriage also lead them to limit the size of their families after marriage. This view will be discussed more fully later.

In Table 15, the States are arranged according to their rank in the ratio of children to native white women. Certain other factors which it was thought might have some casual connection with the ratio of children to women are also given and the States are given rankings in each factor.

It is obvious at a glance that there is a large degree of correspondence between the ratio of children in a State and the proportion of its population that is rural (columns A and E). Thus of the 10 States ranking highest (1–10) in the ratio of children to women, 6 rank 1–10 in the proportion of rural population and 3 others rank 11–15 in this respect. Utah is the only State with a very high ratio (ranking 3) of children which has a low proportion (32) of rural population. If the 20 States ranking highest (1–20) in ratio of children are considered it will be found that only 4 rank lower than 20 in the proportion of rural population. At the other end, of the 20 States ranking lowest (29–48) in the ratio of children only 2 rank higher, that is, 1–29, in the proportion of the population that is rural. This very close correspondence between the degree of rurality and the ratio of children is quite striking and is one of the most important facts brought out in this study and one that will be recurred to a number of times.

The next factor to be taken account of here is the relation between the ratio of children to native white women and the extent to which these women are the children of foreign or mixed parentage (columns A and G). In general, the higher the ratio of children to native white women the lower the proportion of native white women 20 to 44 who are of foreign or mixed parentage. Of the 10 States having the highest ratios of children (ranking 1 to 10) 7 fall within the 10 (ranking 39 to 48) having the smallest proportion of native white women of foreign or mixed parentage. One other, New Mexico (37) just misses inclusion and only 2, Idaho (20) and Utah (8), rank rather high in the proportion of native white women of foreign or mixed parentage. Of the States ranking 11 to 20 in ratio of children, only 3 have a rank of 1 to 20 in proportion of native white women of foreign and mixed parentage. Two of these, South Dakota (6) and North Dakota (2), have high percentages of rural population. At the other extreme, of the 10 States having the lowest ratio of children to women (ranking 39–48) 4 rank 1 to 10 in proportion of native white women of foreign or mixed parentage, and the other 6 rank 10 to 20 in this respect. The Pacific Coast States are those most markedly out of line here as in many other comparisons.

This inverse relationship between the ratio of children to native white women and the proportion of native white women of foreign or mixed parentage can be explained in large part by the fact that native white women of foreign or mixed parentage live chiefly in the larger cities of the more highly urbanized States. Thus again urban and rural living must be taken into consideration as an important factor.

WOMEN GAINFULLY EMPLOYED

The relationship between the employment of women, (columns A and I, Table 15) and the ratio of children in the native white population is also clearly marked. A high ratio of children is not always present where few women are employed: out of the 20 States ranking highest in children, 16 rank 29–48, that is, among the 20 lowest in the proportion of women gainfully employed. At the other extreme, of the 20 States ranking lowest (29–48) in the ratio of children, 16

Table 15.—States Ranked According to the Number of Children Under 5 per 1,000 Native White Women 20 to 44 Years of Age, by Marital Condition, with Per Cents and Rankings for Certain Other Factors: 1920 [1]

State	Children under 5 per 1,000 native white women 20 to 44 years of age				Rural white population		Native white women 20 to 44 years of age, of foreign or mixed parentage		Native white women 10 years of age and over gainfully employed	
	All women		Married, widowed, or divorced women		Per cent of total white population	Rank	Per cent of total native white women 20 to 44 years of age	Rank	Per cent of total native white women 10 years of age and over	Rank
	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank						
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
North Carolina	827	1	1,062	1	81.2	5	0.7	48	16.4	24
Arkansas	798	2	928	7	83.1	4	3.6	41	12.2	42
Utah	788	3	983	4	51.7	32	47.2	8	13.9	36
West Virginia	788	4	975	5	74.8	12	4.8	40	10.8	48
Alabama	786	5	959	6	78.4	8	2.7	43	15.2	31
South Carolina	777	6	992	2	78.3	9	1.6	47	20.4	11
New Mexico	757	7	915	9	81.1	6	10.0	37	11.2	47
Mississippi	740	8	924	8	83.4	3	2.5	44	14.2	35
Georgia	731	9	909	10	73.1	14	2.0	46	16.3	25
Idaho	729	10	863	15	72.4	15	29.0	20	12.1	44
North Dakota	722	11	987	3	86.3	1	64.8	2	14.4	33
Kentucky	722	12	899	12	75.8	11	6.6	39	11.7	46
Oklahoma	722	13	835	17	73.3	13	6.8	38	12.2	43
Tennessee	706	14	880	14	76.6	10	2.5	45	11.9	45
Virginia	688	15	899	11	71.3	16	3.1	42	13.1	41
South Dakota	670	16	885	13	83.6	2	51.3	6	14.3	34
Louisiana	659	17	846	16	60.1	27	10.9	35	13.5	40
Texas	630	18	772	20	67.1	21	12.6	34	13.8	37
Florida	627	19	758	23	63.2	24	10.1	36	13.6	38
Montana	620	20	762	22	68.2	20	40.5	14	16.0	26
Wyoming	593	21	698	28	70.6	17	27.8	22	15.3	30
Arizona	580	22	691	31	61.0	26	26.0	25	15.1	32
Nebraska	578	23	764	21	69.3	18	40.9	13	15.3	29
Kansas	574	24	730	25	66.4	22	22.2	29	13.5	39
Wisconsin	548	25	786	19	52.6	30	59.5	3	20.0	14
Iowa	546	26	732	24	63.9	23	35.8	19	15.7	28
Minnesota	538	27	811	18	56.0	28	65.4	1	20.3	12
Vermont	525	28	707	27	68.8	19	25.4	26	19.8	15
Michigan	524	29	680	32	39.3	37	44.8	10	19.2	17
Indiana	519	30	659	34	50.5	33	14.0	33	15.7	27
Colorado	516	31	653	35	52.1	31	26.9	24	18.0	22
Maine	515	32	695	30	61.0	25	23.8	28	20.6	10
Pennsylvania	512	33	723	26	36.4	41	27.7	23	21.4	9
Missouri	510	34	664	33	55.0	29	19.7	30	16.8	23
Maryland	507	35	697	29	38.2	38	18.6	31	20.1	13
Delaware	491	36	645	36	44.1	36	16.8	32	18.3	20
Ohio	482	37	638	37	36.8	40	24.3	27	18.3	19
Oregon	463	38	581	45	50.1	34	28.9	21	18.8	18
Washington	462	39	583	44	44.7	35	36.0	18	19.4	16
Illinois	450	40	629	39	32.7	42	42.1	12	21.7	8
Nevada	447	41	537	47	79.1	7	39.0	15	18.1	21
New Hampshire	435	42	634	38	36.9	39	36.6	17	26.3	5
New Jersey	402	43	590	43	21.6	45	43.2	11	25.0	6
Connecticut	371	44	593	42	32.4	43	49.8	7	29.8	3
Rhode Island	363	45	615	41	2.5	48	58.1	4	35.1	1
New York	362	46	558	46	17.5	46	46.8	9	27.7	4
Massachusetts	359	47	621	40	5.3	47	53.6	5	33.2	2
California	341	48	451	48	31.4	44	36.9	16	21.9	7

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[1] Columns A and C from Detailed Table I; column E by subtraction, Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Population, 1920, pp. 80-87; column G, special tabulation by Bureau of the Census; column I, Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. IV, Occupations, 1920, p. 362.

rank 1 to 20 in proportion of employed women. North and South Carolina are the two most outstanding exceptions in this respect, but Florida and Georgia are also considerably out of line. The recent rapid movement of cotton manufacturing into the South has drawn many native women and girls into the mills, but apparently the customs regarding marriage and childbearing which were prevalent among them when they were living in rural districts still persist in their new surroundings. The practice of birth control seems to have made little headway among them as yet, with the result that the number of children born and surviving is large. We have an exactly parallel case in the recently arrived immigrants whose customs regarding marriage and childbearing have been developed in communities in the "old countries" and brought to the new country where they survive almost intact for years.

Here again attention must be called to the fact that in the very nature of the case, by reason of the census definition of gainful employment, most rural States have a small proportion of women gainfully employed. It has been shown above that gainful employment of women means fewer marriages and now it is found that it also means fewer children. Since gainful employment for women is characteristic of the city rather than of the country, it is city living which makes this relationship so close.

FOREIGN-BORN WOMEN

In Table 16 the States are ranked according to the ratio of children to foreign-born white women. There are several interesting differences in the order of the States when ranked on this basis as compared with their order in Table 15. New Mexico, West Virginia, and Utah are the only States ranking in the first 10 in both tables. New Mexico and West Virginia are distinctly rural States, the former ranking 6 and the latter 12 in this respect. Utah is again an exception as we have seen above. Mormonism is apparently a sufficiently important factor in family life in Utah to influence the size of families in that State. This will be discussed at more length in Chapter VII.

Most of the other States which stand high in the ratio of children to native white women are well down in rank of children to foreign-born women. This is particularly true of the Southern States. The very highly industrialized States, with the exception of Pennsylvania, tend to be low in both tables along with the Pacific States and Nevada, although there are several obvious exceptions. Thus we may say that although industrialization and urbanization undoubtedly tend to lower the birth rate among the foreign born as well as among the native women they have a more marked effect on the latter. This, of course, is what we should expect since the foreign-born women are slow to discard their old-world attitudes toward family life and children.

TABLE 16.—STATES RANKED ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY MARITAL CONDITION, WITH PER CENTS AND RANKINGS FOR CERTAIN OTHER FACTORS: 1920 [1]

STATE	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				RURAL FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION		FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION		NEW IMMIGRATION [2]		FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED	
	All women		Married, widowed, or divorced women		Per cent of total foreign-born white population	Rank	Per cent of total population	Rank	Per cent of total foreign-born population	Rank	Per cent of total foreign-born white women 10 years of age and over	Rank
	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank								
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
West Virginia	1,231	1	1,298	2	68.1	6	4.2	37	77.3	4	8.2	48
North Dakota	1,199	2	1,333	1	87.7	1	20.3	9	32.6	36	9.3	46
Pennsylvania	1,043	3	1,158	3	26.1	35	15.9	17	67.7	5	13.7	31
Delaware	997	4	1,112	4	15.1	42	8.9	29	60.9	9	14.9	25
South Dakota	980	5	1,102	5	85.3	2	12.9	21	24.0	42	9.8	44
Wyoming	890	6	948	17	66.6	7	13.0	19	46.5	27	12.0	37
Indiana	888	7	968	9	21.2	39	5.1	35	47.1	24	11.2	40
Connecticut	886	8	1,014	6	26.6	34	27.3	3	59.6	12	20.6	7
Utah	883	9	993	7	42.8	22	12.6	22	22.0	44	12.4	35
New Mexico	875	10	968	8	80.5	4	8.1	30	82.8	2	10.8	42
Idaho	870	11	950	16	71.4	5	9.0	28	25.3	40	10.9	41
Ohio	866	12	951	15	15.9	41	11.8	25	61.4	7	14.1	30
Wisconsin	862	13	955	13	44.8	21	17.5	15	34.8	34	11.4	38
Michigan	859	14	956	12	28.2	32	19.8	11	42.3	28	13.2	32
Montana	855	15	938	22	65.0	8	17.1	16	29.9	38	13.0	34
Mississippi	851	16	953	14	47.9	19	0.4	46	58.1	13	18.2	12
Kansas	849	17	943	19	64.3	10	6.2	33	40.6	30	9.0	47
Nebraska	836	18	940	20	60.3	12	11.5	26	34.4	35	10.3	43
New Jersey	833	19	945	18	14.9	43	23.4	5	60.7	10	18.3	11
Minnesota	831	20	959	11	50.3	17	20.4	8	24.4	41	12.2	36
Colorado	831	21	922	25	49.0	18	12.4	24	49.4	21	14.2	28
Arizona	830	22	930	23	63.0	11	23.4	6	86.1	1	16.7	16
Vermont	829	23	961	10	59.2	15	12.6	23	20.9	46	15.3	24
Oklahoma	807	24	885	31	64.4	9	2.0	39	52.7	18	11.3	39
Iowa	806	25	914	26	60.1	13	9.4	27	17.0	47	9.5	45
Louisiana	785	26	924	24	27.3	33	2.5	38	61.4	8	15.5	23
Alabama	771	27	867	33	36.7	27	0.8	42	47.2	22	13.2	33
Rhode Island	755	28	939	21	1.0	48	28.7	1	39.9	32	27.8	3
Maryland	753	29	874	32	14.1	44	7.0	32	59.7	11	18.0	13
Texas	751	30	889	28	53.4	16	7.7	31	82.6	3	15.9	20
Illinois	734	31	844	35	13.3	45	18.6	13	50.7	19	17.7	15
Maine	732	32	896	27	44.9	20	14.0	18	13.8	48	23.6	5
Arkansas	723	33	861	34	60.0	14	0.8	43	35.2	35	17.9	14
Virginia	723	34	811	37	37.5	26	1.3	40	52.8	17	14.3	27
Nevada	719	35	770	40	82.4	3	19.1	12	50.5	20	14.2	29
New Hampshire	713	36	889	29	21.7	38	20.6	7	21.4	45	30.4	1
Massachusetts	700	37	886	30	3.0	47	28.0	2	40.2	31	28.2	2
South Carolina	687	38	790	39	34.0	28	0.4	47	53.4	16	16.7	17
Kentucky	678	39	806	38	30.0	31	1.3	41	31.9	37	14.8	26
New York	664	40	820	36	7.2	46	26.8	4	62.8	6	23.3	6
Florida	636	41	739	42	31.4	29	4.4	36	56.1	14	27.0	4
Tennessee	614	42	703	44	25.8	36	0.7	44	46.6	26	16.6	18
Missouri	609	43	704	43	20.0	40	5.5	34	41.0	29	16.4	19
North Carolina	606	44	753	41	40.3	23	0.3	48	47.0	25	20.3	8
Washington	591	45	674	46	40.1	24	18.4	14	24.0	43	15.7	22
Oregon	583	46	673	47	39.8	25	13.0	20	29.1	39	15.9	21
California	579	47	679	45	30.7	30	19.9	10	47.2	23	18.6	10
Georgia	560	48	658	48	23.2	37	0.6	45	53.8	15	19.7	9

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[1] Columns A and C from Detailed Table I; column E, Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Population, 1920, pp. 80-87; column G, Vol. II, p. 33; column K, Vol. IV, p. 362.

[2] Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. III, Population, 1920, pp. 47-52. Old immigration comprises immigrants from England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Netherlands, Belgium, Luxemburg, Switzerland, France, Alsace-Lorraine, Germany, Canada (French and other), Newfoundland, and Australia. New immigration comprises all other countries, and those combined in census tabulations under "All other countries" are also added in with the new immigration.

It is interesting to note some of the differences in the ranking of particular States in ratio of children to native white women and to foreign-born white women, respectively. The most striking shifts in rank among the highly industrialized States are: Pennsylvania, from 33 to 3; Connecticut, from 44 to 8; New Jersey, from 43 to 19; Michigan, from 29 to 14; and Ohio, from 37 to 12. In every case among the industrial States the rank of the State in ratio of children to foreign-born women is higher than its rank to native women. Among the distinctly rural States, on the other hand, the shift is in the opposite direction with few exceptions. The following examples show the trend: North Carolina, from 1 to 44; Arkansas, from 2 to 33; South Carolina, from 6 to 38; North Dakota, from 11 to 2; West Virginia, from 4 to 1; Tennessee, from 14 to 42; Georgia, from 9 to 48; Alabama, from 5 to 27; and Mississippi, from 8 to 16.

In contrast with the South and the Northeast most of the Middle Western States occupy about the same position in both tables. It may be significant in this connection that in the Middle West the cities are not clearly dominant, nor are they negligible, the nativity composition of the population is practically the same in both country and city, and the foreign born are almost all of northwest European origin. The result is that Nebraska shifts from 23 to 18, Kansas from 24 to 17, Iowa from 26 to 25, Minnesota from 27 to 20, and Wisconsin from 25 to 13.

It should also be noted that in the States considered as units there does not appear to be any very close relation between the per cent of the foreign born who are of the new immigration (Table 16, columns A and I) and the ratio of children to foreign-born white women. West Virginia, ranking 1 in ratio of children ranks 4 in per cent of the foreign born of the new immigration, but North Dakota, ranking 2 in ratio of children ranks 36 in this respect and of the 10 States ranking highest in ratio of children, only 4 rank 10 or above in per cent of foreign born of the new immigration. One other, Connecticut, ranks 11; the other 5 rank 24, 27, 36, 42, and 45. Large numbers of children are not peculiar to the new immigrants as is often assumed. It appears that the immigrants, like the natives, raise larger families when they live under rural conditions than when they live in cities; hence the "old" immigrants in the rural States very frequently have ratios of children to women larger than the "new" immigrants in the cities. At this point a word of caution must be added. The comparison of "old" and "new" immigrants by States is undoubtedly calculated to conceal a considerable part of any real difference that exists between them. The "new" immigrants are largely city dwellers living in the more highly industrialized States, while a considerable portion of the "old" immigrants live in rural localities. It will be necessary to investigate the differences between these two immigrant groups in ratios of children under conditions where varying degrees of rurality do not complicate the problem before there can be any assurance what the situation is. This will be attempted for cities.

Among the foreign born as among the natives there seems to be a fairly close connection between the percentage of employed women and the ratio of children. A high ratio of children is in general present in those States where a small proportion of women are gainfully employed and vice versa. Connecticut is the most conspicuous exception, ranking 8 in ratio of children and 7 in per cent of women employed. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island, ranking 36, 37, and 28, respectively, in ratio of children rank 1, 2, and 3 in per cent of employed women. In spite of some exceptions, however, there can be no reasonable doubt that the gainful employment of women tends to reduce the number of children among the foreign born as well as among the natives. In this connection it should be noted that the per cent of foreign-born women gainfully employed tends to be large in the States which are highly industrialized and low in the agricultural States, as was the case with the native white women. Thus again rural and urban conditions are encountered as factors affecting the size of the family. Employment of women for wages outside the home tends to reduce the birth rate and the survival rate, while rural living with full employment at home—and very strenuous employment it is in farm homes—encourages the raising of large families.

It is also of interest that there appears to be no very close connection between the per cent of foreign-born whites in the population (Table 16, columns A and G) and the ratio of children to foreign-born women. In the 10 States having the highest ratios of children only 2 are in the first 10 as regards a high per cent of foreign-born population. At the other extreme, 4 of the lowest 10 in ratio of children are also among the lowest 10 in per cent of foreign born. Other rankings in ratios and per cents which show that this relationship is of little significance are West Virginia, 1 and 37, New York 40 and 4, Massachusetts 37 and 2, California 47 and 10, Mississippi 16 and 46, and Illinois 31 and 13. The Southern States alone tend to have similar rankings in both respects. This is probably due to the fact that in the South the foreign born are a selected group quite different from the larger foreign-born groups in the Northern States. They belong much more largely to the commercial class than the foreign born in most Northern States. That this class always has a low birth rate has been pointed out in Chapter I and will be shown in succeeding chapters.

URBANISM AND BIRTH RATE

In this comparison by States of the ratios of children to women, both native and foreign born, several facts stand out quite clearly:

(*a*) The ratio of children to foreign-born women is much larger than the ratio to native women (45 per cent greater in the case of all women and 26 per cent greater in the case of married women); (*b*) a much larger proportion of foreign born than of native women are married; (*c*) more native women of native parentage are married than native women of foreign or mixed parentage; (*d*) the differences between States in ratio of children to native white women and to foreign-born white women are greater in many cases than the differences between the ratios of these two nativity groups in the same States. All these facts call for explanation.

Certain explanations have been suggested already, for example the unequal distribution of the people of different nativity groups in different types of communities, and the way in which differing degrees of urbanization seem to be connected with several of these other differences. This chapter is not the place to go into this last matter in any detail but since it is the central idea in the study it will not be out of place to show very briefly how even the differences in ratios between the native and the foreign born tie up with the belief that urbanism is the chief factor in the decline of the birth rate in this country at the present time.

The foreign born have a relatively unrestricted birth rate not because they are foreign born nor because they are of certain nationalities, but because they are less urbanized, even though living in cities, than most of our native population. The foreign born, both men and women, are dominated to a great extent by the attitudes toward life brought with them from their rural communities in the "old country." Only a few of them slough off these habits of thought, these mental attitudes, soon enough to materially affect the size of their families. The few who do are generally those who get ahead financially fairly early in life and wish to be accepted as members of native groups where children are few; hence to be in fashion, they too, limit their families.

In effect, then, practically all the differences between native and foreign-born white women as regards proportion of married women and ratio of children seem to arise out of differences in attitudes of mind due to differences in the environments in which they have been reared, and these differences of environment are chiefly, though not wholly, the differences due to urban and rural modes of life. It is necessary to make certain qualifications of this general position and some additions of factors of significance, but these are believed to be of secondary importance as compared with the influence of urban and rural living conditions upon mental attitudes toward marriage and family life.

It is, of course, inaccurate to speak of urban and rural as though they represented the same kinds of environment at all times and places. Rural Italy and Croatia are certainly different from rural Iowa and California. In their effect on the mental attitudes of people, however, rural Italy and rural Iowa are probably more akin and have more in common than rural Iowa and Des Moines, certainly than rural Iowa and Chicago. Likewise, Berlin and Boston are vastly different, but in their effects on the size of family desired are much alike, probably more alike than Boston and Jackson County, N. C. It is not possible to go into this matter in more detail here but in a later chapter an attempt will be made to justify these opinions.

It is a very common belief that increasing sterility and complexity of civilization go together, indeed are inevitably bound together. It is a well-established fact that sterility is more frequent in the native born in our cities than in other classes. Table 17 shows that sterility is about twice as great among white women of native parentage as among white women of foreign parentage except in rural Ohio where there is very little difference. It also shows that sterility is far more common in the cities than in the rural counties although these especial counties include considerable urban populations. In fact, the per cent of sterility of native white women of native parentage in the rural counties is less than that of the white women of foreign parentage in the cities of Cleveland and Minneapolis and in the State of Rhode Island. Sterility, whatever its cause, seems to be largely a result of urban living. This fact seems to many people to support the belief that the increase of civilization inevitably results in an increase of sterility.

TABLE 17.—PER CENT OF WOMEN UNDER 45 YEARS OF AGE AND MARRIED 10 TO 20 YEARS, BEARING NO CHILDREN, CLASSIFIED BY NATIVITY AS DETERMINED BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF BOTH PARENTS, FOR 3 SELECTED STATES: 1900 [1]

NATIVITY	WOMEN UNDER 45 YEARS OF AGE, MARRIED 10 TO 20 YEARS—PER CENT BEARING NO CHILDREN						
	Rhode Island			Ohio		Minnesota	
	The State	Cities of 10,000 population and over	Remainder of State	Cleveland	48 rural counties	Minneapolis	21 rural counties
Total	11.3	11.7	10.0	8.1	5.2	8.5	3.0
Native white—native parentage	17.5	19.4	13.8	15.2	5.7	12.7	5.1
White of foreign parentage	8.0	8.4	6.5	6.3	5.1	6.9	2.7
Foreign-born white	7.2	--------	--------	5.5	4.6	6.5	2.6
Native white—foreign or mixed parentage	10.5	--------	--------	8.5	5.5	7.9	2.8

[1] Report to the Immigration Commission, 1911, fecundity of immigrant women. Based on data gathered by the Bureau of the Census, 1900. Women whose parents were born in different countries are not included in this tabulation.

But though urban living does increase sterility it is not because of any inherent decline in the fertility of urban women but rather because it fosters attitudes of mind unfavorable to childbearing in general, and large families in particular. Furthermore the sterility with which physicians are best acquainted is that of the better-paid classes and this is just the group in which living is most abnormal in the sense that it represents the greatest departure from the customary modes of living among our ancestors. The large amount of so-called physiological sterility found by physicians whose clientele is among the upper classes is, then, not to be regarded as proof of any inherent decline in fecundity in this group, but rather as proof that many people have not yet learned how to live under conditions where they have an economic surplus. Any decline in the fecundity, that is, in the actual capacity to produce children, of the upper classes is, in other words, not a problem of racial physiology but of individual physiology which arises out of the habits of modern urban life of the well-to-do classes. It follows, then, that no explanation of differences in the birth rates of different groups which involves the assumption of a decline in the capacity of women to produce children, due to other than personal causes, can be accepted.

The various factors which appear to be important in determining the ratio of children to women from these comparisons between States will be investigated more fully in succeeding chapters.

III

RATIOS OF CHILDREN TO WOMEN IN CITIES OF 100,000 INHABITANTS AND OVER

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN STATES AND LARGE CITIES

As shown in Table 18 the ratio of children to women for the different nativity and marital groups is considerably lower in the large cities than in the States (Table 11). The difference is specially striking for the native population. In the United States as a whole the ratio of children to native white women 20 to 44 is 538, while in these cities the ratio for the same group is 341, or 57.8 per cent higher in the States than in these cities. For married women in the same nativity groups the ratios are 725 and 512, respectively, or 41.6 per cent higher in the United States than in these big cities. For the foreign-born white women 20 to 44 in the United States the ratio is 779, and in these cities 679, or 14.7 per cent higher in the country as a whole than in the cities. For foreign-born married women the ratios are 911 and 819, respectively, or 11.2 per cent higher in the whole United States than in the big cities. Thus it is evident that the foreign-born white women in the United States as a whole differ from the foreign born in the large cities in respect to the ratio of children by only one-fourth to one-third as much as the native white women of the same groups.

The most obvious explanation of this small difference between the United States and the big cities in ratio of children to foreign-born white women lies in the fact that these women live largely in the cities, especially in the big cities. Consequently the ratio for the United States is heavily weighted by the city-dwelling foreign-born women. Of more significance than this obvious explanation, the chief fact of social importance is that foreign-born whites, no matter where they may settle in this country, come largely from rural communities or ghetto districts where the standards of life are favorable to rearing large families. In only a small proportion of these women are these standards modified early enough in life to have much influence upon the number of children born. Hence immigrant women tend to bear children up to the limit of their capacity no matter where they live in this country. Modifications in this tendency will be pointed out later but as regards recent immigrants the statement describes the conditions quite accurately.

Another indication of the differences between the whole United States and these large cities is in the index of the ratio of children of foreign-born white women to the ratio of children of native white women (column E, Table 18). For all women 20 to 44 this index is 1.99 in these cities as compared with 1.45 in the United States, and for married women it is 1.60 as against 1.26, or over one-third higher for all women and over one-fourth higher for married women in these big cities than in the Nation as a whole. It is the more or less vague realization that foreign-born white women in the cities have nearly twice (1.99 times) as many children as native white women that has led many people to lament the filling up of our country with the children of immigrants, not realizing that our rural population is largely native, having only 6.5 per cent[*] of foreign born, and that it still has a fairly high birth rate.

TABLE 18.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY NATIVITY AND MARITAL CONDITION; NATIVE-FOREIGN RATIO INDEX; AND PER CENT OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITES IN TOTAL POPULATION, FOR CITIES OF 100,000 INHABITANTS AND OVER ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SIZE: 1920 [1]

CITY	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				INDEX, FOREIGN-BORN TO NATIVE WHITE [2]		Per cent of foreign-born whites in total population
	All women		Married, widowed, or divorced women		All women	Married, widowed, or divorced women	
	Native white	Foreign-born white	Native white	Foreign-born white			
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
All cities having 100,000 inhabitants and over	341	679	512	819	1.99	1.60	----------
New York, N. Y.	316	610	528	769	1.93	1.46	35.4
Manhattan Borough	244	533	445	722	2.18	1.62	40.4
Bronx Borough	336	602	552	725	1.79	1.31	36.5
Brooklyn Borough	347	711	566	841	2.05	1.49	32.7
Queens Borough	404	672	581	764	1.66	1.31	23.8
Richmond Borough	414	818	639	954	1.98	1.49	27.1
Chicago, Ill.	332	712	508	827	2.14	1.63	29.8
Philadelphia, Pa.	370	737	566	875	1.99	1.55	21.8
Detroit, Mich.	408	786	548	894	1.93	1.63	29.1
Cleveland, Ohio	356	810	507	895	2.28	1.77	30.1
St. Louis, Mo.	308	579	448	670	1.88	1.50	13.4
Boston, Mass.	304	631	585	835	2.08	1.43	31.9
Baltimore, Md.	416	749	598	870	1.80	1.45	11.4
Pittsburgh, Pa.	392	869	604	1,014	2.22	1.68	20.4
Los Angeles, Calif.	234	452	319	557	1.93	1.75	19.4
Buffalo, N. Y.	364	818	558	953	2.25	1.71	24.0
San Francisco, Calif.	228	420	331	522	1.84	1.58	27.7
Milwaukee, Wis.	381	755	587	849	1.98	1.45	24.1
Washington, D. C.	240	491	439	661	2.05	1.51	6.5
Newark, N. J.	332	828	520	939	2.49	1.81	28.2
Cincinnati, Ohio	336	503	510	615	1.50	1.21	10.7
New Orleans, La.	396	544	570	677	1.37	1.19	6.7
Minneapolis, Minn.	335	620	536	766	1.85	1.43	23.1
Kansas City, Mo.	293	639	393	745	2.18	1.90	8.4
Seattle, Wash.	300	430	400	523	1.43	1.31	23.4
Indianapolis, Ind.	354	610	462	708	1.72	1.53	5.4

See footnotes at end of table.

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[*] Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Population, 1920, p. 79.

TABLE 18.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY NATIVITY AND MARITAL CONDITION; NATIVE-FOREIGN RATIO INDEX; AND PER CENT OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITES IN TOTAL POPULATION, FOR CITIES OF 100,000 INHABITANTS AND OVER ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SIZE: 1920 [1]—Con.

CITY	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				INDEX, FOREIGN-BORN TO NATIVE WHITE[2]		Per cent of foreign-born whites in total population
	All women		Married, widowed, or divorced women		All women	Married, widowed, or divorced women	
	Native white	Foreign-born white	Native white	Foreign-born white			
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Jersey City, N. J.	381	888	603	988	2.33	1.64	25.5
Rochester, N. Y.	333	775	522	918	2.33	1.76	24.1
Portland, Oreg.	312	493	415	595	1.58	1.43	18.2
Denver, Colo.	294	510	407	608	1.73	1.49	14.7
Toledo, Ohio	372	849	498	942	2.28	1.89	15.7
Providence, R. I.	301	737	540	924	2.45	1.71	29.0
Columbus, Ohio	351	691	489	815	1.97	1.67	6.8
Louisville, Ky.	358	541	517	661	1.51	1.28	4.9
St. Paul, Minn.	369	626	596	760	1.70	1.28	22.0
Oakland, Calif.	307	504	407	579	1.64	1.42	20.9
Akron, Ohio	408	847	517	905	2.08	1.75	18.2
Atlanta, Ga.	377	536	497	613	1.42	1.23	2.4
Omaha, Nebr.	332	713	474	822	2.15	1.73	18.5
Worcester, Mass.	349	764	619	928	2.19	1.50	29.7
Birmingham, Ala.	431	778	543	864	1.81	1.59	3.4
Syracuse, N. Y.	339	842	500	967	2.48	1.93	18.8
Richmond, Va.	401	608	582	730	1.52	1.25	2.7
New Haven, Conn.	326	880	546	1,033	2.70	1.89	28.1
Memphis, Tenn.	339	624	446	719	1.84	1.61	3.6
San Antonio, Tex.	389	571	517	715	1.47	1.38	22.7
Dallas, Tex.	331	593	435	696	1.79	1.60	5.5
Dayton, Ohio	398	762	524	834	1.91	1.59	8.6
Bridgeport, Conn.	350	837	537	938	2.39	1.75	32.3
Houston, Tex.	346	612	438	696	1.77	1.59	8.7
Hartford, Conn.	292	750	496	907	2.57	1.83	29.5
Scranton, Pa.	405	990	667	1,103	2.44	1.65	20.7
Grand Rapids, Mich.	399	770	573	888	1.93	1.55	20.6
Paterson, N. J.	324	631	542	743	1.95	1.37	33.2
Youngstown, Ohio	441	1,051	592	1,136	2.38	1.92	25.6
Springfield, Mass.	331	692	519	862	2.09	1.66	24.1
Des Moines, Iowa	362	617	507	751	1.70	1.48	8.9
New Bedford, Mass.	342	601	571	773	1.76	1.35	40.2
Fall River, Mass.	379	784	723	989	2.07	1.37	35.1
Trenton, N. J.	364	903	541	997	2.48	1.84	25.2
Nashville, Tenn.	389	460	536	552	1.18	1.03	2.0
Salt Lake City, Utah	498	690	660	822	1.39	1.25	16.5
Camden, N. J.	453	929	594	1,010	2.05	1.70	17.4
Norfolk, Va.	380	650	488	722	1.71	1.48	5.7
Albany, N. Y.	267	722	458	892	2.70	1.95	15.6
Lowell, Mass.	364	650	691	861	1.79	1.25	33.7
Wilmington, Del.	424	1,010	589	1,122	2.38	1.90	14.8
Cambridge, Mass.	318	644	627	853	2.03	1.36	29.3
Reading, Pa.	390	1,048	538	1,171	2.69	2.18	8.9
Fort Worth, Tex.	351	644	438	742	1.83	1.69	6.9
Spokane, Wash.	346	500	470	600	1.45	1.28	16.1
Kansas City, Kans.	458	935	573	1,012	2.04	1.77	11.5
Yonkers, N. Y.	353	760	579	893	2.15	1.54	25.7

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[1] Columns A, B, C, and D from Detailed Table I; column E obtained by dividing column B by column A; column F by dividing column D by column C; column G from Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Population, 1920, p. 49.

[2] Obtained by dividing the number of children per 1,000 foreign-born white women by the number per 1,000 native white women.

Table 19.—Per Cent Married, Widowed, or Divorced and Rank of Women 20 to 44 Years of Age, by Nativity, for Cities of 100,000 Inhabitants and Over Arranged According to Size: 1920 [1]

CITY	PER CENT MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED AND RANK							
	Native white						Foreign-born white	
	Total		Native parentage		Foreign or mixed parentage			
	Married	Rank	Married	Rank	Married	Rank	Married	Rank
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Cities of 100,000 inhabitants and over, average	66.5	------	69.6	------	62.9	------	82.9	------
Cities of 500,000 inhabitants and over, average	64.9	------	67.7	------	62.4	------	82.3	------
New York, N. Y	59.9	61	61.9	63	58.7	59	79.3	67
Manhattan Borough	54.9	68	57.4	69	53.1	66	73.8	73
Bronx Borough	60.8	58	64.0	58	59.3	57	83.0	49
Brooklyn Borough	61.3	56	63.2	59	60.1	55	84.5	42
Queens Borough	69.5	34	69.8	38	69.3	24	88.0	18
Richmond Borough	64.8	49	65.4	53	64.2	40	85.7	35
Chicago, Ill	65.3	44	68.2	43	63.6	42	86.1	31
Philadelphia, Pa	65.4	43	67.8	45	61.9	47	84.2	43
Detroit, Mich	74.4	21	76.9	14	71.9	11	87.9	20
Cleveland, Ohio	70.1	30	72.2	32	68.4	26	90.5	7
St. Louis, Mo	68.7	39	70.0	37	66.9	29	86.5	28
Boston, Mass	51.9	72	55.1	71	49.8	71	75.5	71
Baltimore, Md	69.6	33	70.9	35	66.3	32	86.1	30
Pittsburgh, Pa	64.9	47	67.2	46	62.3	45	85.7	34
Los Angeles, Calif	73.4	23	74.6	23	70.7	17	81.1	58
Buffalo, N. Y	65.2	45	66.2	48	64.3	39	85.8	33
San Francisco, Calif	68.9	38	71.3	33	66.8	30	80.4	62
Milwaukee, Wis	64.9	48	61.9	64	66.4	31	88.9	16
Washington, D. C	54.7	69	55.2	70	52.2	68	74.4	72
Newark, N. J	63.9	50	66.1	49	61.8	49	88.2	17
Cincinnati, Ohio	65.8	42	68.0	44	62.1	46	81.8	57
New Orleans, La	69.4	35	69.3	41	69.5	23	80.4	61
Minneapolis, Minn	62.5	54	65.9	51	60.3	54	80.8	60
Kansas City, Mo	74.5	20	75.8	20	69.7	22	85.9	32
Seattle, Wash	74.9	17	77.4	10	71.2	15	82.2	54
Indianapolis, Ind	76.6	7	78.1	7	69.1	25	86.2	29
Jersey City, N. J	63.2	53	65.5	52	61.5	50	89.8	12
Rochester, N. Y	63.8	51	65.4	54	61.9	48	84.5	41
Portland, Oreg	75.1	16	78.0	8	70.0	20	82.9	50
Denver, Colo	72.2	26	74.5	24	68.0	27	83.9	45
Toledo, Ohio	74.7	18	76.6	16	71.6	12	90.1	8
Providence, R. I	55.8	67	60.2	66	52.6	67	79.8	65
Columbus, Ohio	71.8	28	72.8	31	67.7	28	84.7	40
Louisville, Ky	69.2	36	71.3	34	63.1	44	81.9	56
St. Paul, Minn	61.9	55	64.4	56	60.6	53	82.4	52
Oakland, Calif	75.5	13	77.2	13	73.6	6	87.0	23
Akron, Ohio	79.1	4	79.9	4	75.8	3	93.6	1
Atlanta, Ga	75.9	10	76.2	18	71.4	14	87.4	21
Omaha, Nebr	70.1	31	73.4	27	65.7	36	86.8	26
Worcester, Mass	56.4	66	62.5	62	52.1	69	82.3	53
Birmingham, Ala	79.3	3	79.9	3	72.7	8	90.0	10
Syracuse, N. Y	67.8	40	70.2	36	64.1	41	87.0	22
Richmond, Va	68.9	37	69.3	42	64.4	38	83.3	48
New Haven, Conn	59.7	62	62.8	61	57.1	61	85.2	36
Memphis, Tenn	75.9	11	76.7	15	70.3	19	86.8	27
San Antonio, Tex	75.2	15	75.4	21	74.6	5	79.9	64
Dallas, Tex	76.1	9	76.6	17	72.3	9	85.2	38
Dayton, Ohio	75.9	12	77.4	11	70.3	18	91.3	5
Bridgeport, Conn	65.2	46	69.7	39	61.5	51	89.2	15
Houston, Tex	79.0	5	79.7	5	76.6	1	88.0	19
Hartford, Conn	59.0	63	61.5	65	56.6	65	82.8	51

[1] Columns A, C, E, and G from Detailed Table II.

TABLE 19.—PER CENT MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED AND RANK OF WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY NATIVITY, FOR CITIES OF 100,000 INHABITANTS AND OVER ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SIZE: 1920—Continued

CITY	PER CENT MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED AND RANK							
	Native white						Foreign-born white	
	Total		Native parentage		Foreign or mixed parentage		Married	Rank
	Married	Rank	Married	Rank	Married	Rank		
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Scranton, Pa	60.7	59	63.1	60	58.8	58	89.7	13
Grand Rapids, Mich	69.6	32	73.4	30	66.1	33	86.8	25
Paterson, N. J	59.8	64	64.8	55	56.8	64	84.9	39
Youngstown, Ohio	74.5	19	77.3	12	70.9	16	92.5	2
Springfield, Mass	63.7	52	67.2	47	59.9	56	80.2	63
Des Moines, Iowa	71.4	29	73.4	28	66.0	34	82.1	55
New Bedford, Mass	60.0	60	66.1	50	56.9	62	77.6	68
Fall River, Mass	52.5	71	54.7	72	51.8	70	79.3	66
Trenton, N. J	67.2	41	69.5	40	63.5	43	90.5	6
Nashville, Tenn	72.6	24	73.7	26	61.3	52	83.5	46
Salt Lake City, Utah	75.5	14	75.3	22	75.6	4	83.9	44
Camden, N. J	76.3	8	77.7	9	73.2	7	91.9	4
Norfolk, Va	77.9	6	78.5	6	71.6	13	90.0	11
Albany, N. Y	58.4	65	59.3	67	56.9	63	81.0	59
Lowell, Mass	52.7	70	59.2	68	49.6	72	75.5	69
Wilmington, Del	72.1	27	74.2	25	66.0	35	90.0	9
Cambridge, Mass	50.7	73	53.8	73	48.4	73	75.5	70
Reading, Pa	72.4	25	73.4	29	65.7	37	89.5	14
Fort Worth, Tex	80.3	1	80.7	2	76.5	2	86.9	24
Spokane, Wash	73.6	22	75.9	19	69.8	21	83.4	47
Kansas City, Kans	79.9	2	82.5	1	72.1	10	92.4	3
Yonkers, N. Y	60.9	57	64.3	57	58.2	60	85.2	37

We can not pass from a consideration of differences in the ratios of children to all women and to married women without calling attention to Table 19 showing the proportion of married women in the different nativity groups.

The chief reason for the greater difference in the ratios of children to all women and to married women among native white women in the large cities than among the foreign-born white women is to be found in the differences in the proportions of them who are married. This difference is very large, the average per cent of all native white women 20 to 44 married being only 66.5 per cent as compared with 82.9 per cent of all foreign-born white women.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CITIES

The differences between cities as regards the ratio of children to native white women are brought out clearly in Table 20, where the cities are ranked according to these ratios.

Table 20.—Cities of 100,000 Inhabitants and Over Ranked According to the Number of Children Under 5 per 1,000 Native White Women 20 to 44 Years of Age, by Marital Condition, with Per Cents and Rankings for Certain Other Factors: 1920 [1]

CITY	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE OF FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE		NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED	
	All women		Married, widowed, or divorced women		Per cent of total native white women 20 to 44 years of age	Rank	Per cent of total native white women 10 years of age and over	Rank
	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank				
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Salt Lake City, Utah	498	1	660	4	49.9	31	22.2	69
Kansas City, Kans	458	2	573	21	24.6	57	23.5	66
Camden, N. J	453	3	594	12	31.0	50	25.0	58
Youngstown, Ohio	441	4	592	13	44.0	36	21.3	72
Birmingham, Ala	431	5	543	30	8.2	71	19.1	73
Wilmington, Del	424	6	589	14	25.8	55	25.7	56
Baltimore, Md	416	7	598	10	27.3	52	26.6	52
Richmond Borough, New York City	414	8	639	5	51.8	28	25.3	57
Akron, Ohio	408	9	517	44	21.1	61	24.9	61
Detroit, Mich	408	10	548	28	50.4	30	26.8	51
Scranton, Pa	405	11	667	3	54.9	20	28.7	35
Queens Borough, New York City	404	12	581	18	60.6	11	27.8	44
Richmond, Va	401	13	582	17	8.0	72	26.9	49
Grand Rapids, Mich	399	14	573	20	52.0	27	29.4	32
Dayton, Ohio	398	15	524	39	21.1	60	23.8	64
New Orleans, La	396	16	570	23	26.6	53	23.6	65
Pittsburgh, Pa	392	17	604	8	46.5	34	26.8	50
Reading, Pa	390	18	538	34	12.7	65	31.5	23
Nashville, Tenn	389	19	536	37	8.6	70	25.0	59
San Antonio, Tex	389	20	517	45	28.0	51	22.4	68
Jersey City, N. J	381	21	603	9	58.8	16	30.5	27
Milwaukee, Wis	381	22	587	15	66.6	5	32.0	22
Norfolk, Va	380	23	488	55	9.4	68	21.7	71
Fall River, Mass	379	24	723	1	76.9	1	44.4	1
Atlanta, Ga	377	25	497	52	5.5	73	27.0	48
Toledo, Ohio	372	26	498	51	38.2	44	25.9	55
Philadelphia, Pa	370	27	566	25	41.2	39	30.1	29
St. Paul, Minn	369	28	596	11	64.7	6	32.7	18
Lowell, Mass	364	29	691	2	67.3	3	39.4	4
Buffalo, N. Y	364	30	558	26	54.4	22	27.7	45
Trenton, N. J	364	31	541	32	38.4	43	28.3	38
Des Moines, Iowa	362	32	507	49	26.2	54	29.3	33
Louisville, Ky	358	33	517	43	25.3	56	27.4	46
Cleveland, Ohio	356	34	507	48	53.5	25	27.9	43
Indianapolis, Ind	354	35	462	58	16.9	64	26.2	54
Yonkers, N. Y	353	36	579	19	55.0	19	29.8	30
Columbus, Ohio	351	37	489	54	19.2	62	25.0	60
Fort Worth, Tex	351	38	438	65	8.6	69	22.2	70
Bridgeport, Conn	350	39	537	35	53.9	24	32.8	17
Worcester, Mass	349	40	619	7	58.8	15	33.9	11
Brooklyn Borough, New York City	347	41	566	24	60.3	13	31.3	24
Spokane, Wash	346	42	470	57	37.2	46	26.4	53
Houston, Tex	346	43	438	64	21.4	59	23.0	67
New Bedford, Mass	342	44	571	22	66.8	4	40.1	3
Syracuse, N. Y	339	45	500	50	39.1	42	29.0	34

[1] Columns A and C from Detailed Table I; column E from a special tabulation, Bureau of the Census; column G from Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. IV, Population, 1920, p. 367.

Table 20.—Cities of 100,000 Inhabitants and Over Ranked According to the Number of Children Under 5 per 1,000 Native White Women 20 to 44 Years of Age, by Marital Condition, with Per Cents and Rankings for Certain Other Factors: 1920—Continued

CITY	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE OF FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE		NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED	
	All women		Married, widowed, or divorced women		Per cent of total native white women 20 to 44 years of age	Rank	Per cent of total native white women 10 years of age and over	Rank
	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank				
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Memphis, Tenn	339	46	446	61	12.5	66	24.5	62
Cincinnati, Ohio	336	47	510	46	37.9	45	28.4	37
Bronx Borough, New York City	336	48	552	27	68.1	2	32.1	21
Minneapolis, Minn	335	49	536	36	60.6	12	32.5	19
Rochester, N. Y	333	50	522	40	46.2	35	33.6	13
Newark, N. J	332	51	520	41	52.9	26	30.3	28
Chicago, Ill	332	52	508	47	63.7	7	33.2	14
Omaha, Nebr	332	53	474	56	42.7	37	29.7	31
Dallas, Tex	331	54	435	66	10.6	67	28.6	36
Springfield, Mass	331	55	519	42	47.3	32	33.9	12
New Haven, Conn	326	56	546	29	54.6	21	33.0	15
Paterson, N. J	324	57	542	31	61.8	8	37.7	5
Cambridge, Mass	318	58	627	6	57.1	18	36.9	8
New York, N. Y	316	59	528	38	60.7	10	33.0	16
Portland, Oreg	312	60	415	67	36.3	47	28.2	39
St. Louis, Mo	308	61	448	60	41.4	38	30.6	26
Oakland, Calif	307	62	407	69	46.9	33	24.4	63
Boston, Mass	304	63	585	16	60.9	9	36.9	9
Providence, R. I	301	64	540	33	58.0	17	37.1	7
Seattle, Wash	300	65	400	70	40.7	40	28.0	42
Denver, Colo	294	66	407	68	35.4	48	28.1	41
Kansas City, Mo	293	67	393	71	21.9	58	28.2	40
Hartford, Conn	292	68	496	53	51.5	29	35.1	10
Albany, N. Y	267	69	458	59	39.4	41	30.8	25
Manhattan Borough, New York City	244	70	445	62	59.0	14	37.2	6
Washington, D. C	240	71	439	63	18.7	63	43.1	2
Los Angeles, Calif	234	72	319	73	32.6	49	27.4	47
San Francisco, Calif	228	73	331	72	54.4	23	32.2	20

FACTORS INFLUENCING RATIOS

The differences, in many cases, are very difficult to explain and the reasons that will be advanced for them will leave much to be desired. It will be of interest, however, to study a few cities in some detail. Pittsburgh, ranking 17 among cities of over 100,000 inhabitants in ratio of children to native women (392) and 10 in ratio of children to foreign-born women (869), makes an interesting comparison with San Francisco, which is lowest in ratio of children to native white women (228) and also lowest in ratio of children to foreign-born white women (420). In per cent of native white women who are of foreign or mixed parentage, San Francisco exceeds Pittsburgh, the per cents being 54.4 per cent and 46.5 per cent, respectively. According to generally accepted ideas regarding the fertility of children of immigrants, the advantage from this source should be with San Francisco. This generally accepted notion is apparently wrong, or at least it is far from being a sufficient explanation of the ratio of children to native women in these two cities. Evidently other factors are more important.

One of these other factors undoubtedly is the percentage of native white women who are gainfully employed. Pittsburgh has only 26.8 per cent of its native white women over 10 employed, while San Francisco has 32.2 per cent. The former ranks 50 among these cities in this respect and the latter ranks 20. It is, of course, impossible to say whether the women of San Francisco have fewer children because more of them are employed or whether they are at work because they have fewer children. Probably there is some truth in both suppositions, and besides there may be some other conditions which have a causal connection both with small number of children and with a large proportion of working women. One such condition may be the nature of the industries and commerce carried on in the city. This point will not be enlarged upon here, as it will come up in another connection later, but it may be pointed out that Pittsburgh has a considerably larger proportion of its "gainfully employed" engaged in manufacturing than San Francisco has. It may also be noted that the industries of Pittsburgh are *heavy* industries needing men's labor, one reason for the low proportion of working women.

In addition to these factors we find (Table 19) that in Pittsburgh there is a smaller proportion of native women who are married (64.9 per cent) than in San Francisco (68.9 per cent). Contrary to what might generally be expected, a low proportion of married women is frequently associated with a high ratio of children. There is no very satisfactory explanation of this fact, but it may be that the proportion of women married has a pretty close relation to the ratio of males to females in the population—the higher the ratio of males to females the larger the proportion of women married—and that the ease or difficulty of getting a husband, as thus measured, has some relation to a woman's willingness to bear children.

We have seen above that the differences between Pittsburgh and San Francisco in ratio of children to foreign-born women are almost as great as in the case of native women. One reason for these differences may be found in the types of foreign born in the two places. In Table 21 we note that 40.3 per cent of the foreign born in San Francisco are of the new immigration while in Pittsburgh 60.8 per cent belong in this group. This is a significant difference and the significance is increased when we examine more in detail the composition of the foreign born in the two places. One difference is that Pittsburgh has a large contingent of Slavs while San Francisco has comparatively few. As will be shown later, the Slavs probably have the highest birth rate of the immigrant groups. On the other hand, San Francisco has a larger Italian group than Pittsburgh[1] (over one-half larger), and Italians also have a very high birth rate. Furthermore, if the size of the foreign-born groups in a city makes any difference in their retention of Old World birth rates, it would seem that San Francisco should be at no particular disadvantage in this respect as compared with Pittsburgh, for the former has 27.7 per cent of its total population foreign born and the latter only 20.4 per cent. It would seem that the nationalities of the foreign-born groups of a city are apparently considerably more influential in determining its birth rate than the total number of the foreign born. Again, as in the case of the native women in San Francisco, a larger proportion of its foreign-born women 10 years of age and over (25.6 per cent) are gainfully employed than in Pittsburgh, where the proportion is 16.3 per cent. (Tables 20 and 21.) In this respect Pittsburgh has a large advantage.

So far, then, as we can judge, the above comparisons indicate to some extent that Pittsburgh should have higher ratios of children to women than San Francisco, but giving due allowance to all the factors mentioned it still seems that we are forced to recognize some more intangible factors of environment than those already enumerated as very important elements in the situation. Indeed, the fact that all the west coast cities keep San Francisco company with low ratios of children to women as compared with most of the other cities suggests that there are some common factors affecting the birth rates of these cities different from the factors determining the city birth rates in other parts of the country.

Comparisons for a number of other cities are as baffling as that of Pittsburgh and San Francisco, for example, those of Denver and Syracuse, and Nashville and Birmingham as regards their foreign-born population. The differences between these cities can not be fully explained by the statistical data available.

OCCUPATIONS

There seems to be some connection between the dominant activities of a city and the level of the ratio of children to women in it. Cities whose inhabitants are chiefly interested in, and work at manufacturing have higher ratios of children than cities where the people are engaged chiefly in trade and commerce. San Francisco and Pittsburgh, as already indicated, present this contrast between industry and commerce as well as, or better than, any other two of the larger cities. In ratio of children to native white women Baltimore ranking 7, and Detroit ranking 10, are somewhat higher in ratio of children to native women than Pittsburgh and, as shown in Table 22, they also rank somewhat higher as manufacturing centers. Cleveland, on the other hand, although considerably below Pittsburgh in ratio of children to native women has a much larger proportion of its population engaged in manufacturing. In ratio of children to foreign-born white women, however, they are all considerably below Pittsburgh, although such differences as there are between these cities in respect to the proportion of foreign born who belong to the new immigration (Table 21, columns G and H) are in favor of Cleveland, with 71.9 per cent as compared with 60.7 per cent in Pittsburgh, 64.2 per cent in Baltimore, and 52.7 per cent in Detroit. In per cent of total population foreign born, also, Cleveland and Detroit lead Pittsburgh by substantial margins. None of the factors mentioned, nor all of them together, will satisfactorily explain the differences in ratios between Pittsburgh and these other manufacturing cities. We should have to go far afield to explain fully such individual differences—farther than we can go in such a study as this.

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[1] Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. III, Population. 1920, p. 51.

Table 21.—Cities of 100,000 Inhabitants and Over Ranked According to Number of Children Under 5 per 1,000 Foreign-born White Women 20 to 44 Years of Age, by Marital Condition, with Per Cents and Rankings for Certain Other Factors: 1920 [1]

CITY	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION		NEW IMMIGRATION [2]		FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED	
	All women		Married, widowed, or divorced women		Per cent of total population	Rank	Per cent of total foreign-born population	Rank	Per cent of total foreign-born white women 10 years of age and over	Rank
	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank						
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
Youngstown, Ohio	1,051	1	1,136	2	25.6	23	72.1	6	10.9	72
Reading, Pa	1,048	2	1,171	1	8.9	56	74.9	2	19.9	27
Wilmington, Del	1,010	3	1,122	3	14.8	50	64.9	16	15.4	62
Scranton, Pa	990	4	1,103	4	20.7	37	57.7	27	10.6	73
Kansas City, Kans	935	5	1,012	7	11.5	53	64.1	18	13.5	70
Camden, N. J	929	6	1,010	8	17.4	45	65.8	15	15.2	64
Trenton, N. J	903	7	997	9	25.2	25	72.5	5	17.5	41
Jersey City, N. J	888	8	988	11	25.5	24	55.2	33	14.7	69
New Haven, Conn	880	9	1,033	5	28.1	19	64.0	19	20.1	25
Pittsburgh, Pa	869	10	1,014	6	20.4	39	60.8	21	16.3	57
Toledo, Ohio	849	11	942	15	15.7	48	54.1	35	14.8	67
Akron, Ohio	847	12	905	22	18.2	44	71.4	8	14.8	68
Syracuse, N. Y	842	13	967	12	18.8	41	50.9	42	16.8	50
Bridgeport, Conn	837	14	938	17	32.3	9	67.7	13	21.4	18
Newark, N. J	828	15	939	16	28.2	18	69.7	10	16.4	55
Richmond Borough, New York City	818	16	954	13	27.1	21	51.2	39	15.0	66
Buffalo, N. Y	818	17	953	14	24.0	29	52.4	38	15.9	60
Cleveland, Ohio	810	18	895	23	30.1	11	71.9	7	16.9	49
Detroit, Mich	786	19	894	24	29.1	16	52.7	37	16.5	52
Fall River, Mass	784	20	989	10	35.1	5	43.7	58	37.9	2

[1] Columns A and C from Detailed Table I; column E, Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Population, 1920, p. 49; column G from figures in Bureau of the Census, Vol. III, pp. 47–52; column I, Vol. IV, p. 367.

[2] Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. III, Population, 1920, pp. 47–52, Old immigration comprises immigrants from England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Netherlands, Belgium, Luxemburg, Switzerland, France, Alsace-Lorraine, Germany, Canada (French and other), Newfoundland, and Australia. New immigration comprises all other countries and those combined in census tabulations under "All other countries" are also added in with the new immigration.

TABLE 21.—CITIES OF 100,000 INHABITANTS AND OVER RANKED ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY MARITAL CONDITION, WITH PER CENTS AND RANKINGS FOR CERTAIN OTHER FACTORS: 1920—Continued

CITY	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION		NEW IMMIGRATION		FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED	
	All women		Married, widowed, or divorced women		Per cent of total population	Rank	Per cent of total foreign-born population	Rank	Per cent of total foreign-born white women 10 years of age and over	Rank
	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank						
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
Birmingham, Ala	778	21	864	30	3.4	70	58.1	26	12.3	71
Rochester, N. Y	775	22	918	20	24.1	27	49.4	45	22.8	15
Grand Rapids, Mich	770	23	888	27	20.6	38	29.9	71	17.1	45
Worcester, Mass	764	24	928	18	29.7	13	42.9	61	19.9	28
Dayton, Ohio	762	25	834	37	8.6	59	49.8	43	16.3	59
Yonkers, N. Y	760	26	893	25	25.7	22	57.1	28	21.1	19
Milwaukee, Wis	755	27	849	34	24.1	28	52.9	36	16.3	58
Hartford, Conn	750	28	907	21	29.5	14	58.8	25	23.2	13
Baltimore, Md	749	29	870	29	11.4	54	64.2	17	19.0	33
Providence, R. I	737	30	924	19	29.0	17	49.6	44	26.2	9
Philadelphia, Pa	737	31	875	28	21.8	35	59.6	24	20.2	23
Albany, N. Y	722	32	892	26	15.6	49	47.6	53	19.0	32
Omaha, Nebr	713	33	822	39	18.5	42	51.2	39	17.0	47
Chicago, Ill	712	34	827	38	29.8	12	57.1	29	20.2	24
Brooklyn Borough, New York City	711	35	841	35	32.7	8	70.1	9	18.9	35
Springfield, Mass	692	36	862	31	24.1	26	43.7	59	25.9	10
Columbus, Ohio	691	37	815	41	6.8	62	44.9	57	16.8	51
Salt Lake City, Utah	690	38	822	40	16.5	46	13.8	77	18.0	40
Queens Borough, New York City	672	39	764	45	23.8	30	45.1	56	16.5	53
Lowell, Mass	650	40	861	32	33.7	6	29.4	72	37.7	3
Norfolk, Va	650	41	722	54	5.7	65	63.2	20	17.0	48
Cambridge, Mass	644	42	853	33	29.3	15	35.7	66	27.9	6
Fort Worth, Tex	644	43	742	50	6.9	61	74.7	3	15.5	61
Kansas City, Mo	639	44	745	48	8.4	60	46.0	54	17.1	46
Boston, Mass	631	45	835	36	31.9	10	43.4	60	27.4	7
Paterson, N. J	631	46	743	49	33.2	7	56.3	30	27.0	8
St. Paul, Minn	626	47	760	46	22.0	34	32.3	70	18.0	39
Memphis, Tenn	624	48	719	55	3.6	69	56.1	31	19.0	34
Minneapolis, Minn	620	49	766	44	23.1	32	23.7	74	20.0	26
Des Moines, Iowa	617	50	751	47	8.9	57	35.2	67	18.6	37
Houston, Tex	612	51	696	58	8.7	58	66.9	14	15.2	65
New York, N. Y	610	52	769	43	35.4	4	68.5	12	25.1	12
Indianapolis, Ind	610	53	708	57	5.4	67	34.2	68	15.3	63
Richmond, Va	608	54	730	51	2.7	71	54.9	34	20.7	22
Bronx Borough, New York City	602	55	725	52	36.5	3	73.4	4	19.1	31
New Bedford, Mass	601	56	773	42	40.2	2	49.0	50	44.7	1
Dallas, Tex	593	57	696	59	5.5	66	60.5	22	18.4	38
St. Louis, Mo	579	58	670	61	13.4	52	48.9	51	18.7	36
San Antonio, Tex	571	59	715	56	22.7	33	85.2	1	22.8	16
New Orleans, La	544	60	677	60	6.7	63	56.0	32	17.5	42
Louisville, Ky	541	61	661	63	4.9	68	26.7	73	16.4	56
Atlanta, Ga	536	62	613	65	2.4	72	59.9	23	17.3	44
Manhattan Borough, New York City	533	63	722	53	40.4	1	69.4	11	32.5	4
Denver, Colo	510	64	608	66	14.7	51	38.7	64	19.8	29
Oakland, Calif	504	65	579	69	20.9	36	38.9	63	17.5	43
Cincinnati, Ohio	503	66	615	64	10.7	55	36.4	65	19.2	30
Spokane, Wash	500	67	600	67	16.1	47	16.1	76	20.8	20
Portland, Oreg	493	68	595	68	18.2	43	32.4	69	20.8	21
Washington, D. C	491	69	661	62	6.5	64	45.7	55	29.3	5
Nashville, Tenn	460	70	552	71	2.0	73	51.0	41	16.5	54
Los Angeles, Calif	452	71	557	70	19.4	40	47.8	52	23.1	14
Seattle, Wash	430	72	523	72	23.4	31	21.2	75	22.4	17
San Francisco, Calif	420	73	522	73	27.7	20	40.3	62	25.6	11

Salt Lake City, although smaller than San Francisco and even more dependent on trade for its existence, nevertheless exceeds Pittsburgh in ratio of children to women among the natives. Among the foreign born, however, it ranks considerably lower. As the discussion in a later chapter (Chap. VII) shows, the religious beliefs and practices of the Mormons must play an important part in determining the size of families, particularly among the natives, thus lessening the influence of the general social and economic conditions to which they are subjected in common with most other cities in that part of the country, which in comparison with Salt Lake City, have very low ratios of children to native white women.

If we take a group of cities which are distinctly trade cities we shall find that they have a good many characteristics in common. The Texas cities, Dallas, Fort Worth, and Houston belong to this group of trade cities, as do Spokane, Omaha, Denver, Kansas City, Mo., Portland, Oreg., and Seattle. All of these cities have low ratios of children to native white women and also to foreign-born white married women. In this latter characteristic they are joined by some of the southern trading cities—Memphis, Atlanta, New Orleans, which are well below the median—where the foreigners are engaged in trade rather than in manufacturing. The fact that all of these cities have low ratios of children to women suggests that there is some relation between the function served by a city and the ratio of children to women. Where cities are primarily trade centers for large areas, furnish the professional service for a large population outside their own limits, provide educational and cultural facilities for this population, and also have relatively little manufacturing, they appear to have low ratios of children to women in both nativity groups. On the other hand, cities known chiefly as manufacturing centers generally have higher ratios of children to women. There are some exceptions (San Antonio) but most of the cities ranking 20 or above in ratio of children in both nativity groups are distinctly manufacturing centers. (See Tables 20 and 21.)

A word may be said about Scranton which stands high in both groups. Scranton is the only city in the United States with over 100,000 inhabitants having a considerable number of miners in its population. Of its gainfully employed, 20.8 per cent [2] are miners. Miners invariably seem to have large families as we shall show elsewhere (Chap. VII); hence, the ratio of children in Scranton is undoubtedly raised because of their presence.

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[2] Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. IV, Population, 1920, p. 1230.

TABLE 22.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY NATIVITY, AND THE PER CENT OF THE TOTAL POPULATION 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN EACH OF THE CHIEF OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, FOR CITIES OF 100,000 INHABITANTS AND OVER, ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SIZE OF CITY: 1920 [1]

CITY	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE		PER CENT OF THE TOTAL POPULATION 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER EMPLOYED IN—				
	Native white women	Foreign-born white women	Manufacturing	Transportation	Trade	Clerical occupations	Professional service
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
New York, N. Y	316	610	37.6	9.5	15.5	15.9	6.6
Manhattan Borough	244	533	34.2	9.6	15.5	13.0	7.7
Bronx Borough	336	602	39.0	8.0	17.8	19.5	6.4
Brooklyn Borough	347	711	40.5	9.9	15.6	17.9	5.6
Queens Borough	404	672	42.2	9.2	12.9	18.4	5.8
Richmond Borough	414	818	40.1	12.0	10.0	13.8	7.2
Chicago, Ill	332	712	39.7	9.0	16.8	17.1	5.8
Philadelphia, Pa	370	737	47.5	8.1	13.5	12.2	5.2
Detroit, Mich	408	786	56.3	6.2	11.4	12.1	4.7
Cleveland, Ohio	356	810	52.9	7.3	12.5	12.4	4.9
St. Louis, Mo	308	579	40.7	9.0	15.4	14.4	5.2
Boston, Mass	304	631	37.0	10.0	15.1	14.4	6.6
Baltimore, Md	416	749	42.4	10.1	14.0	11.7	5.3
Pittsburgh, Pa	392	869	40.1	10.1	15.0	14.5	6.0
Los Angeles, Calif	234	452	31.6	8.6	18.6	11.4	11.0
Buffalo, N. Y	364	818	45.8	10.5	13.0	13.1	6.0
San Francisco, Calif	228	420	30.9	10.1	16.3	14.2	7.5
Milwaukee, Wis	381	755	51.9	7.2	12.6	12.9	5.6
Washington, D. C	240	491	18.9	7.1	9.7	30.9	8.2
Newark, N. J	332	828	52.5	7.0	12.9	12.6	5.0
Cincinnati, Ohio	336	503	43.8	8.8	14.3	12.4	5.9
New Orleans, La	396	544	32.0	14.2	14.5	11.8	5.1
Minneapolis, Minn	335	620	34.6	10.2	18.8	15.1	7.6
Kansas City, Mo	293	639	29.1	11.3	20.2	16.0	6.8
Seattle, Wash	300	430	36.9	10.5	16.5	11.1	7.8
Indianapolis, Ind	354	610	43.7	9.5	15.4	12.6	5.8
Jersey City, N. J	381	888	40.7	15.8	12.1	17.7	4.4
Rochester, N. Y	333	775	54.0	6.4	11.5	12.2	6.1
Portland, Oreg	312	493	35.9	10.2	17.0	12.4	8.0
Denver, Colo	294	510	28.2	10.7	19.5	14.0	8.5
Toledo, Ohio	372	849	48.3	10.3	13.3	12.2	5.2
Providence, R. I	301	737	53.1	7.1	12.4	10.7	5.4
Columbus, Ohio	351	691	40.1	10.9	15.1	12.0	6.9
Louisville, Ky	358	541	39.8	9.6	15.1	12.2	5.5
St. Paul, Minn	369	626	34.9	10.9	17.2	17.1	6.8
Oakland, Calif	307	504	39.3	9.7	15.9	11.8	7.8
Akron, Ohio	408	847	65.9	3.7	8.9	9.8	3.9
Atlanta, Ga	377	536	27.7	10.5	16.7	14.4	5.9
Omaha, Nebr	332	713	34.8	9.7	17.8	16.4	6.7
Worcester, Mass	349	764	54.0	6.4	11.3	11.2	6.4
Birmingham, Ala	431	778	35.0	11.1	14.2	9.1	5.7
Syracuse, N. Y	339	842	47.0	8.9	13.7	11.9	6.7
Richmond, Va	401	608	38.7	9.8	15.1	11.9	5.2
New Haven, Conn	326	880	46.3	8.1	12.7	14.0	6.8
Memphis, Tenn	339	624	28.2	12.2	18.6	10.6	5.5
San Antonio, Tex	389	571	25.1	12.3	17.5	9.9	6.9
Dallas, Tex	331	593	24.9	9.9	21.9	17.7	6.5
Dayton, Ohio	398	762	52.8	5.6	12.9	11.8	5.9
Bridgeport, Conn	350	837	60.3	5.1	9.7	12.0	4.6
Houston, Tex	346	612	30.2	11.8	16.0	14.5	6.2
Hartford, Conn	292	750	45.0	5.7	14.3	17.0	6.0
Scranton, Pa	405	990	32.2	9.9	12.0	10.8	5.8
Grand Rapids, Mich	399	770	49.7	7.3	15.4	11.0	6.1
Paterson, N. J	324	631	64.0	5.6	10.2	8.8	4.3
Youngstown, Ohio	441	1,051	53.4	8.4	12.4	10.7	5.3
Springfield, Mass	331	692	46.8	7.4	13.9	12.7	6.3

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[1] Columns A and B from Detailed Table I; columns C, D, E, F, G, Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. IV, Population, 1920, p. 131.

TABLE 22.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY NATIVITY, AND THE PER CENT OF THE TOTAL POPULATION 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN EACH OF THE CHIEF OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, FOR CITIES OF 100,000 INHABITANTS AND OVER, ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SIZE OF CITY: 1920—Continued

CITY	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE		PER CENT OF THE TOTAL POPULATION 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER EMPLOYED IN—				
	Native white women	Foreign-born white women	Manufacturing	Transportation	Trade	Clerical occupations	Professional service
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Des Moines, Iowa	362	617	28.0	9.7	20.4	16.0	8.3
New Bedford, Mass	342	601	72.0	4.2	8.1	4.6	3.0
Fall River, Mass	379	784	71.5	4.7	8.8	4.5	3.9
Trenton, N. J	364	903	57.7	8.2	10.3	9.2	4.8
Nashville, Tenn	389	460	32.2	11.4	16.5	10.3	5.7
Salt Lake City, Utah	498	690	27.9	11.0	18.2	14.3	9.7
Camden, N. J	453	929	58.8	8.3	9.8	9.9	3.5
Norfolk, Va	380	650	28.3	16.3	14.6	10.5	5.1
Albany, N. Y	267	722	33.3	14.1	14.3	15.6	7.6
Lowell, Mass	364	650	67.4	4.8	9.5	6.3	4.0
Wilmington, Del	424	1,010	48.7	10.0	10.5	13.1	5.3
Cambridge, Mass	318	644	42.5	8.9	12.2	14.5	7.6
Reading, Pa	390	1,048	63.5	7.3	9.7	7.5	4.1
Fort Worth, Tex	351	644	33.8	11.6	17.0	12.3	5.6
Spokane, Wash	346	500	27.3	11.1	20.2	12.5	8.6
Kansas City, Kans	458	935	46.8	14.7	12.0	11.2	4.3
Yonkers, N. Y	353	760	45.3	6.7	12.0	15.3	8.4

Table 22 allows us to compare the proportions of the gainfully employed in the chief occupational groups in the large cities. It shows that the observations made above are in general justified. The predominating occupations of the people of a city are of importance in relation to their ratios of children to women. Our data here certainly appear to support those quoted from the Birth Reports in Appendix A and in Chapter I, Table 9. High proportions of people employed in the trade, clerical, and professional groups are generally found together, and as a rule the ratio of children to women in both nativity groups is low when this is the case. In general, those cities with less than 35 per cent of the gainfully employed engaged in manufacturing have lower ratios of children to women than cities with 50 per cent or more of the gainfully employed so engaged, and there is a tendency for this to be the case for both native and foreign born.[3] In most of the large manufacturing cities, especially in the Northeast and along the Great Lakes, a large proportion of the workers in manufacturing are of the "new immigration." Hence, it may be that it is the type of people drawn into manufactures as much as, or even more than, the occupation, which is the cause of higher ratios of children to women in the manufacturing cities in this part of the country.

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[3] The southern cities are something of an exception as they generally have higher ratios than northern and western cities of similar character.

There is also the further fact that in cities where heavy manufacturing is very highly developed there is less demand for women's work than in cities where textiles and needlework are highly developed. In cities where heavy manufacturing predominates, therefore, we find fewer women at work outside the home and consequently a higher ratio of children. This is an important element in explaining the differences between cities.

But why should hand workers engaged in manufacturing have more children than people employed in other occupations? Without attempting to answer this question in detail we may enumerate a few reasons that appear quite important in supplying an explanation of this situation.

Notwithstanding the very common belief of the better-paid classes that one of the most meritorious acts of man is to move from the hand-laboring class into the better-paid of the clean-handed jobs, there are millions of laborers who are fairly content with their position in life, or they would be if only their incomes were a little larger. Most of these millions have no ambition for themselves or their children which is not consistent with raising their children to be laborers. For this reason they do not anticipate being subjected to the expense of supporting their children for a number of years after they have finished common school, while they prepare for a business life or the professions.

Laborers quite generally have the feeling that the best insurance they can have against the accidents of life, unemployment, old age, disability, sickness, etc., is a family of children who can care for them if worst comes to worst. In other words, laboring people invest their possible savings in children more often than in property.

Again, in the laboring class women are expected to be homemakers. It is true that a great many of them have to go outside the home to help make a living (see columns E and G in Table 23) but they seldom do so through choice, as often happens in the upper classes. They take outside work because it is a grim necessity. For women in this class, as for the men, life takes its meaning largely from family life. It would seem quite natural therefore, that as this class formed a larger part of the population of a community the ratio of children to women should increase. Our inspection of the facts indicates that this is the case.

What has just been said applies to some of the attitudes of mind common among hand laborers, particularly those in manufacturing.

TABLE 23.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WHITE MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE AND PER CENT OF WHITE MARRIED WOMEN 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED, BY NATIVITY, WITH RANKINGS, FOR CITIES OF 100,000 INHABITANTS AND OVER, ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SIZE OF CITY: 1920 [1]

CITY	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				WOMEN 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED			
	Native white married women		Foreign-born white married women		Native white married women		Foreign-born white married women	
	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Per cent	Rank	Per cent	Rank
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
New York, N. Y	528	38	769	43	8.8	40	8.1	25
Manhattan Borough	445	62	722	53	12.8	12	11.6	7
Bronx Borough	552	27	725	52	6.8	59	5.6	62
Brooklyn Borough	566	24	841	35	7.2	56	5.3	65
Queens Borough	581	18	764	45	6.3	65	7.3	37
Richmond Borough	639	5	954	13	4.8	72	4.1	70
Chicago, Ill	508	47	827	38	10.2	27	8.1	26
Philadelphia, Pa	566	25	875	28	8.0	49	6.0	54
Detroit, Mich	548	28	894	24	8.5	44	5.5	64
Cleveland, Ohio	507	48	895	23	8.9	39	7.9	28
St. Louis, Mo	448	60	670	61	8.7	43	7.4	35
Boston, Mass	585	16	835	36	10.8	25	7.9	29
Baltimore, Md	598	10	870	29	6.5	62	6.8	44
Pittsburgh, Pa	604	8	1,014	6	4.8	71	3.8	71
Los Angeles, Calif	319	73	557	70	13.4	9	10.7	11
Buffalo, N. Y	558	26	953	14	5.0	70	4.3	69
San Francisco, Calif	331	72	522	73	13.2	10	12.1	5
Milwaukee, Wis	587	15	849	34	6.6	60	6.9	42
Washington, D. C	439	63	661	62	17.8	3	11.5	8
Newark, N. J	520	41	939	16	6.5	63	4.7	67
Cincinnati, Ohio	510	46	615	64	6.9	57	7.8	30
New Orleans, La	570	23	677	60	5.9	67	7.5	33
Minneapolis, Minn	536	36	766	44	8.8	41	5.7	60
Kansas City, Mo	393	71	745	48	12.0	18	6.3	48
Seattle, Wash	400	70	523	72	12.4	14	8.5	17
Indianapolis, Ind	462	58	708	57	9.9	29	6.1	52
Jersey City, N. J	603	9	988	11	5.6	68	5.1	66
Rochester, N. Y	522	40	918	20	12.6	13	10.8	10
Portland, Oreg	415	67	595	68	13.6	8	8.5	18
Denver, Colo	407	68	608	66	11.5	23	7.2	38
Toledo, Ohio	498	51	942	15	9.1	37	6.2	50
Providence, R. I	540	33	924	19	12.2	16	10.3	12
Columbus, Ohio	489	54	815	41	8.4	45	5.8	59
Louisville, Ky	517	43	661	63	7.8	50	5.9	58
St. Paul, Minn	596	11	760	46	8.2	48	5.9	55
Oakland, Calif	407	69	579	69	10.1	28	8.1	27
Akron, Ohio	517	44	905	22	9.8	31	8.2	22
Atlanta, Ga	497	52	613	65	11.8	21	6.3	49
Omaha, Nebr	474	56	822	39	11.6	22	6.7	45
Worcester, Mass	619	7	928	18	9.6	33	6.1	53
Birmingham, Ala	543	30	864	30	6.5	64	5.6	63
Syracuse, N. Y	500	50	967	12	9.9	30	5.9	56
Richmond, Va	582	17	730	51	7.2	55	6.9	43
New Haven, Conn	546	29	1,033	5	8.8	42	7.1	39
Memphis, Tenn	446	61	719	55	9.4	34	7.4	36
San Antonio, Tex	517	45	715	56	8.3	47	8.2	23
Dallas, Tex	435	66	696	59	13.2	11	7.8	31
Dayton, Ohio	524	39	834	37	6.9	58	8.9	15
Bridgeport, Conn	537	35	938	17	12.1	17	11.7	6
Houston, Tex	438	64	696	58	9.1	38	6.5	47
Hartford, Conn	496	53	907	21	11.9	19	8.5	19
Scranton, Pa	667	3	1,103	4	3.1	73	1.6	73
Grand Rapids, Mich	573	20	888	27	11.0	24	7.5	34
Paterson, N. J	542	31	742	49	14.1	7	15.6	4
Youngstown, Ohio	592	13	1,136	2	5.1	69	3.7	72
Springfield, Mass	519	42	862	31	14.1	6	11.5	9

[1] Columns A and C from Detailed Table I; columns E and G, Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. IV, Population, 1920, p. 801.

TABLE 23.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WHITE MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE AND PER CENT OF WHITE MARRIED WOMEN 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED, BY NATIVITY, WITH RANKINGS, FOR CITIES OF 100,000 INHABITANTS AND OVER, ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SIZE OF CITY: 1920—Continued

CITY	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				WOMEN 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED			
	Native white married women		Foreign-born white married women		Native white married women		Foreign-born white married women	
	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Per cent	Rank	Per cent	Rank
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Des Moines, Iowa	507	49	751	47	12.3	15	6.7	46
New Bedford, Mass	571	22	773	42	21.6	2	33.8	1
Fall River, Mass	723	1	989	10	21.7	1	26.1	2
Trenton, N. J	541	32	997	9	7.3	54	7.1	40
Nashville, Tenn	536	37	552	71	9.3	35	8.2	24
Salt Lake City, Utah	660	4	822	40	7.4	53	5.9	57
Camden, N. J	594	12	1,010	8	7.5	52	6.2	51
Norfolk, Va	488	55	722	54	8.4	46	8.5	20
Albany, N. Y	458	59	892	26	6.0	66	4.6	68
Lowell, Mass	691	2	861	32	17.1	4	23.9	3
Wilmington, Del	589	14	1,122	3	7.7	51	5.7	61
Cambridge, Mass	627	6	853	33	10.4	26	9.3	14
Reading, Pa	538	34	1,171	1	14.4	5	10.1	13
Fort Worth, Tex	438	65	742	50	9.8	32	7.6	32
Spokane, Wash	470	57	600	67	11.9	20	8.6	16
Kansas City, Kans	573	21	1,012	7	9.2	36	7.1	41
Yonkers, N. Y	579	19	893	25	6.6	61	8.4	21

It is not impossible that laborers in manufacturing may become in time so thoroughly imbued with the religion of thrift as now being preached by industrial and business leaders that they will be quite willing to own shares or bonds rather than to raise children. Once the traditional attitudes toward the family and children were broken down in this class its members might soon become, in practice, the arch exponents of small families.

Just the opposite attitude on the points discussed above prevails in the business and professional classes and among clerical workers who have more or less hope of becoming bona fide members of these classes. It is quite to be expected, therefore, that these people would resort to more drastic limitation of the family than hand laborers, with the consequence our data show as regards the ratio of children to women, namely, a decrease in ratio as the proportion of the population engaged in manufacturing decreases.

PARENTAGE

Another factor generally supposed to be of some significance in explaining the differences between localities in ratio of children to native white women is the proportion of these women who are of foreign or mixed parentage. As a matter of fact, from an inspection of Table 20 one would say that apparently there is not a great deal of difference between the native white women of native parentage and the native white women of foreign or mixed parentage as regards number of children. Of the 20 cities having the highest ratio of children to native white women only 2 rank 1–20 in proportion of native white women of foreign or mixed parentage, while 12 rank 50 or lower. At the other extreme, of the 20 cities ranking 54–73 in the ratio of children, only 3 rank 54–73 in proportion of native white women of foreign or mixed parentage. In the larger cities, then, the proportion of native white women who are of second generation immigration stock does not seem to play as important a part in raising the ratio of children to women as is very commonly supposed to be the case. As supporting this statement, Baltimore with 27.3 per cent of its native white women of foreign or mixed parentage ranks 7 in ratio of children and San Francisco, with 54.4 per cent of its native white women in this group, ranks 73; Youngstown, with 44 per cent of its women in this group, ranks 4 in ratio of children, and St. Louis, with 41.4 per cent, ranks 61. Several other cities with approximately the same proportions of native white women of foreign or mixed parentage are fully as far apart in ratio of children to native white women. Scranton, Pa., and Queens Borough of New York City are the only 2 cities ranking 20 or above in both respects.

EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

There appears to be considerable connection between the proportion of native white women 10 years of age and over gainfully employed and the ratio of children to women (Table 20, columns A and G). Salt Lake City, ranking 1 in ratio of children to women but 69 in per cent of employed women, is exceptional in many respects but most of the other cities ranking high in ratio of children to women rank low in proportion of employed women, while of the 20 cities ranking lowest in ratio of children, 11 rank in the 1–20 class in proportion of employed women. Some of the New England textile cities appear out of place near the median point in ratio of children but with very large percentages of employed women. On the whole, however, there is an inverse relationship between these two factors, the fewer employed native women the higher the ratio of children.

Of course, one can not say positively, in consequence of this relationship between a high ratio of children and low employment, that employment of women causes small families. Undoubtedly it often does so but the situation is scarcely as simple as such a statement would imply. In some cases no doubt the causal relationship is reversed and women seek employment because they have few or no children. On the other hand, many women are forced to seek employment outside the home because of the economic pressure of large families. This last condition probably explains the figures for some of the textile cities.

Some of the reasons why a large proportion of employed women should accompany a low ratio of children are not far to seek. Women who have to work, or who prefer outside work to making a home, are more likely not to marry at all, or to raise small families if they do marry, than women who devote their whole energies to making a home. Most women find that in raising children and working outside the home they are trying to serve two masters. The steadiness of the job of raising children, especially a fair-sized family, is often a strong deterrent to one who might want to do this but must work outside the home.

Again in communities where it is quite the usual thing for girls to work outside the home between the time of leaving school and getting married, the possession of a source of independent income and the complete control over one's time tend to create the desire to retain a larger amount of freedom than the raising of a fair-sized family will permit; hence the desire develops to limit the family to the size most compatible with the retention of the desired freedom.

No doubt, too, the ease with which birth-control information is secured where women work in large groups is also a factor in the situation.[4] One might sum up by saying that women who are gainfully employed, at least those in the childbearing ages, find it decidedly to their advantage not to marry or, if they do marry, to limit the size of their families, and that girls who have worked outside the home for a few years are almost certain to develop desires and attitudes of mind which are not compatible with the raising of large families. It would naturally follow, then, that the gainful employment of women at any time before the end of their childbearing period would have a tendency to issue in the restriction of their families. So that, under present conditions, and other things being equal, those communities that employ women in gainful occupations will have lower birth rates than those which do not.

MARRIAGE

The differences in the ratios of children, among both the native and the foreign-born white women, between all women and married women (see Tables 20, 21, and 23), are due in considerable measure to the varying proportion of married women in these groups. This is readily seen in the case of particular cities. Thus Fall River, ranking 24 in ratio of children to all native white women, is 1 in ratio of children to native white married women. Table 19 shows that Fall River ranks very low (71) in proportion of native white women 20 to 44 who are married, having only 52.5 per cent of all of them in this group. It also ranks low (66) in proportion of foreign-born white married women. Lowell ranks 29 in ratio of children to all native women but 2 in ratio to married women and it also ranks low in proportion of married women both native and foreign born, 70 and 69, respectively. In general, of course, if there is a large difference in ratio of children to married women and to all women a larger proportion of all women are single than if the difference in these ratios is small. Table 19 if compared with Table 12 further shows that there is a rather large difference between the States and the cities in the proportion of married women.

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[4] Elderton, Ethel M., Report on the English Birth Rate, Pt. I, England North of the Humber. Eugenics Laboratory Memoirs, XIX and XX, pp. 236, 237.

For all cities of 100,000 and over and for the United States as a whole, the per cents of married women in the different nativity groups are as follows:

NATIVITY	PER CENT MARRIED	
	United States	Cities of 100,000 inhabitants and over
Native white	74.2	66.5
Native parentage	77.0	69.6
Foreign or mixed parentage	67.3	62.9
Foreign-born white	85.5	82.9

It is evident, therefore, that the averages for the rural population of the United States must be about as much above the averages of the United States as these are higher than the averages for cities. City populations, which are devoted almost wholly to the service of industry and commerce, show a marked tendency to remain single or marry late. This tendency is carried to the greatest extreme in those cities where the labor of women and girls is in greatest demand. The textile cities of the Eastern States show a very high proportion of employed women and girls and a low proportion of women 20 to 44 who are married. New Bedford, Fall River, Providence, Lowell, Cambridge, and Paterson among others belong in this group, as furnishing industrial work to women. Washington, D. C., furnishes clerical work in abundance and Boston and Manhattan Borough furnish both industrial and clerical work. All these places rank high in the proportion of women employed, both native and foreign born, and low in the proportion of married women.

It is well to note in this connection, also, that everywhere the foreign born have a much higher proportion of married women than the natives. Foreign-born women come to this country largely as wives so that their place of residence does not so greatly influence their marital condition as it does that of the native women. But even in the case of the foreign-born women it is impossible to suppose that the large difference between Manhattan Borough, with 73.8 per cent of the foreign-born white women married, and Akron, Ohio, with 93.6 per cent in this marital group, is not influenced to a certain extent by the differences in environmental conditions in these two places. In all probability the nationality groups in Akron may be somewhat more inclined to bring their wives with them than the groups in Manhattan. No doubt a considerable part of the difference in marital condition is due to the fact that Akron, as a city of rubber manufactures, offers little opportunity for women to find work as compared with Manhattan with its needle trades, its other light manufacturing work, and its great offices. Furthermore, Akron is known as a high wage city, while for the great majority of wage-earners Manhattan certainly does not enjoy such a reputation. Hence, in order to make ends meet, women are forced into wage earning jobs more frequently in Manhattan. The above explanation will go far in accounting for the fact that the difference in the ratio of children to all women and to married women is much greater in Manhattan than in Akron. It will also largely explain the fact that Akron has a ratio of 847 children per 1,000 foreign-born white women, which is considerably above that of Manhattan with 533.

It is noteworthy that a given city generally holds fairly closely to the same rank for all nativity groups. The forces, whatever they may be, determining the tendency to marry in a given locality, in this case a particular city, seem to affect all nativity groups about equally. Thus in the four nativity groups, native white, native white of native parentage, native white of foreign or mixed parentage, and foreign-born white, the respective ranks of certain cities are as follows:

CITY	RANK IN PER CENT MARRIED			
	Native white			Foreign-born white
	Total	Native parentage	Foreign or mixed parentage	
New York	61	63	59	67
Chicago	44	43	42	31
Cleveland	30	32	26	7
Pittsburgh	47	46	45	34
Boston	72	71	71	71
San Francisco	38	33	30	62
Minneapolis	54	51	54	60
Providence	67	66	67	65
Birmingham	3	3	8	10
Youngstown	19	12	16	2
Kansas City, Kans	2	1	10	3

There are a few cities where the proportion of foreign-born white married women is somewhat out of line with the proportion of native white married women, but the correspondence between the proportions of native whites of native parentage and the native whites of foreign or mixed parentage is especially close, and shows that the social and economic forces at work among the older native population are speedily felt by the children of immigrants in most cities. It even seems likely from the variations in the percentages of foreign-born married women that the younger immigrant women, those who are not married when they arrive here (chiefly girls under 20), quickly feel the action of the same forces and tend to delay marriage to a slight extent.

Attention should be called to the fact that though the native white women of foreign or mixed parentage marry less frequently and later than the native white women of native parentage the difference between these two groups in this respect is less in the cities than in the States. For all these cities the proportion of married women is 6.7 points higher among the native white women of native parentage than among the native white women of foreign or mixed parentage (Table 19). The difference between these groups for the whole United States is 9.7 points (Table 12). Thus we see that the concentration of the native white women of foreign or mixed parentage in the large cities where marriage rates are relatively low tends to exaggerate the differences between these two nativity groups as regards their tendency to marry, when the States are compared with one another, and when the situation in the entire United States is considered. In the 12 cities in the United States having over 500,000 inhabitants the difference between the proportion of native white women of native parentage married and the native white women of foreign or mixed parentage married, 5.3 points, is even less than for all the cities of over 100,000.

A factor helping to account for this difference in marital condition in these two nativity groups is the general state of confusion and unsettlement of mind in which the children of immigrants find themselves. It is among the children of immigrants rather than among the immigrants themselves that we find the largest degree of mental disorganization. The immigrants come to us with certain mental attitudes, habits of thought and sentiment, fairly firmly fixed and these form "points of reference" by which most, though not all, actions can be judged. They have a scale of values, in other words, which is relatively fixed, by which they can and do govern and judge most of their conduct. So it happens that most immigrants, especially those over 25 years of age on their arrival, live out their lives more or less under the control of the customs and habits they bring with them, making only such adaptations as are absolutely essential in the new environment.

Their children, on the other hand, lack the home training in "old world" habits, customs, etc., which their parents had, and rebel against such as their parents try to inculcate. They also lack the home training of the average native of native parentage so that in many cases they never make a very satisfactory adjustment in their mental attitudes to the conditions of everyday life here. There can be no question that the disintegration or disorganization of personality which is so prevalent in the United States is most marked in the children of immigrant parents. It is they who feel most heavily the pressure of conflicting motives to action, motives derived from living in an environment made up of many antagonistic and mutually exclusive elements. There is little occasion for surprise, therefore, when we find that as one manifestation of a disorganized life, a life in which the person finds the conflict of impulses wearying and distracting, the children of immigrants do not marry as early or as frequently as the children of natives.

Table 24.—Per Cent and Rank of Native White Women of Native Parentage and of Native White Women of Foreign Parentage 10 Years of Age and Over Engaged in Gainful Occupations, for Cities of 100,000 Inhabitants and Over, Arranged According to Size of City: 1920[1]

CITY	WOMEN 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED			
	Native white—Native parentage		Native white—Foreign or mixed parentage	
	Per cent	Rank	Per cent	Rank
	A	B	C	D
New York, N. Y	32.7	9	33.2	19
Manhattan Borough	37.0	2	37.4	9
Bronx Borough	31.7	16	32.3	21
Brooklyn Borough	31.3	18	31.2	28
Queens Borough	27.1	44	28.2	40
Richmond Borough	24.8	62	25.7	55
Chicago, Ill	32.0	13	33.9	17
Philadelphia, Pa	29.1	28	31.4	25
Detroit, Mich	26.6	48	26.9	48
Cleveland, Ohio	28.6	33	27.3	47
St. Louis, Mo	32.1	12	28.6	39
Boston, Mass	35.1	3	38.1	8
Baltimore, Md	26.4	50	26.9	49
Pittsburgh, Pa	26.2	53	27.4	46
Los Angeles, Calif	27.1	45	28.0	41
Buffalo, N. Y	27.5	39	27.9	43
San Francisco, Calif	33.2	8	31.4	26
Milwaukee, Wis	32.7	10	31.7	23
Washington, D. C	43.4	1	41.9	4
Newark, N. J	29.5	26	30.9	30
Cincinnati, Ohio	28.7	32	28.0	42
New Orleans, La	24.9	61	20.6	71
Minneapolis, Minn	29.1	29	35.0	14
Kansas City, Mo	28.4	34	27.6	45
Seattle, Wash	27.1	46	29.5	37
Indianapolis, Ind	26.3	52	25.7	56
Jersey City, N. J	29.2	27	31.3	27
Rochester, N. Y	33.4	6	33.9	18
Portland, Oreg	27.5	40	29.7	36
Denver, Colo	27.4	41	29.4	38
Toledo, Ohio	25.6	54	26.3	52
Providence, R. I	32.5	11	40.3	6
Columbus, Ohio	25.1	59	24.9	58
Louisville, Ky	27.8	38	26.6	50
St. Paul, Minn	30.2	23	34.2	16
Oakland, Calif	24.2	64	24.6	59
Akron, Ohio	25.5	56	22.9	64
Atlanta, Ga	27.3	42	23.0	63
Omaha, Nebr	28.4	35	31.5	24
Worcester, Mass	29.6	25	37.1	11
Birmingham, Ala	19.1	73	18.9	73
Syracuse, N. Y	28.2	36	30.2	35
Richmond, Va	27.2	43	23.5	60
New Haven, Conn	30.1	24	35.2	13
Memphis, Tenn	24.9	60	21.7	67
San Antonio, Tex	22.8	67	21.5	68
Dallas, Tex	29.0	30	25.3	57
Dayton, Ohio	23.9	65	23.4	61
Bridgeport, Conn	30.5	21	34.5	15
Houston, Tex	23.8	66	20.2	72
Hartford, Conn	33.3	7	36.7	12
Scranton, Pa	26.8	47	30.3	34
Grand Rapids, Mich	27.9	37	30.8	31
Paterson, N. J	34.0	4	40.0	7
Youngstown, Ohio	21.6	72	20.9	69
Springfield, Ohio	31.0	19	37.2	10
Des Moines, Iowa	28.8	31	30.8	32
New Bedford, Mass	30.3	22	45.2	2
Fall River, Mass	33.9	5	47.9	1
Trenton, N. J	26.5	49	30.8	33
Nashville, Tenn	25.2	58	23.4	62
Salt Lake City, Utah	21.8	70	22.7	65
Camden, N. J	24.5	63	26.0	54
Norfolk, Va	21.7	71	22.4	66
Albany, N. Y	30.6	20	31.1	29
Lowell, Mass	31.9	14	43.3	3
Wilmington, Del	25.4	57	26.4	51
Cambridge, Mass	31.9	15	40.8	5
Reading, Pa	31.5	17	31.8	22
Fort Worth, Tex	22.3	69	20.7	70
Spokane, Wash	25.6	55	27.7	44
Kansas City, Kans	22.6	68	26.1	53
Yonkers, N. Y	26.4	51	32.4	20

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[1] Columns A and C from Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. IV, p. 367.

The fact that in general there are more native white women of foreign or mixed parentage than native white women of native parentage at work (Table 24) will also help to explain the disinclination of the former to marry. This fact also fits in well with the explanation of the failure of the native white women of foreign or mixed parentage to marry advanced by Doctor Carpenter in his monograph.[5] He says:

> The explanation for this condition can only be conjectured. It may, however, be observed that the postponement or foregoing of marriage involves the deferment or avoidance of the financial obligations involved in marriage more particularly in the support of children. It may be further pointed out that the second generation immigrants are particularly likely to seek relief from financial pressure in this way, for they are passing over from the social position and economic level of the foreign to the native group and could materially accelerate their progress by keeping themselves free, temporarily or permanently, from family burdens. In other words, to many of the children of the foreign born, it seems to be of more importance to bridge the gap between the social and economic level in which they were born and that attained by the sons and daughters of the native Americans than it is to marry and have children.
>
> Whether or not this deduction is correct, the phenomenon for which it seeks to account is sufficiently striking and significant to make it incumbent on students of population problems to determine its causation.

The most natural relation between marriage and ratio of children would seem to be that the more women there are married the higher the ratio of children there would be. In general this relation seems to hold (Tables 20 and 21 with the per cents in Table 19). But there are cities where marriages are relatively few but where the ratio of children is higher than where marriages are more numerous. The exceptions may possibly be explained by the fact that the personal disadvantages of marriage are greatest in those cities where family restriction is least practiced, hence, in those places marriage is more highly selective in certain respects. The women who marry are the ones most ready and willing to undertake the burdens of raising large families.[6] If the above assumptions are correct, the general knowledge of the methods of controlling childbearing may be one of the important factors making for a high marriage rate in certain cities.

It is not unexpected, therefore, that communities where there is a widespread knowledge of birth control but where its practice is much more strongly disapproved in some groups than in others, would have low marriage rates but high ratios of children. Since, on the whole, it seems reasonable to believe that the daughters of foreign mothers are somewhat less free to put their knowledge into use (probably due to disapproval of their religious leaders) than the daughters of native mothers, as a group they exercise a measure of control over the size of their families by postponing marriage or remaining celibates. Once they are married, however, they tend to have relatively large families.

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[5] Carpenter, Niles, Immigrants and Their Children, Census Monograph, VII, p. 217.

[6] See also discussion on p. 39.

FOREIGN-BORN WOMEN AND "NEW" IMMIGRATION

The type of immigrants found in particular cities is undoubtedly an important factor in determining the ratio of children to foreign-born women. The data in Tables 3 and 7 (Chap. I) and those in Table 25, showing the ratio of children in certain localities dominated by particular nationality groups, indicate that this is the case.

Table 25.—Children Under 7 per 1,000 Women 18 to 44 Years of Age in Areas Having Certain Dominant Nationalities: 1920

DOMINANT NATIONALITY	Children under 7 per 1,000 women 18 to 44 years of age	Per cent foreign-born in total population	Per cent dominant nationality is of total foreign-born white population
French-Canadian:			
Holyoke, Mass., Ward 2	662	41.9	59.2
Lewiston, Me.	574	32.3	73.3
Lowell, Mass., Ward 6	757	39.8	62.3
Manchester, N. H., Ward 12	728	46.8	85.2
German:			
Chicago, Ill., Ward 24	672	31.8	45.4
Milwaukee, Wis., Ward 25	566	20.2	76.8
New York City, 8 sanitary districts	543	21.1 to 23.5	63.2 to 72.8
St. Louis, Mo., Ward 11	402	12.8	61.3
Iowa, Lyon County	936	19.4	(1)
Wisconsin, Dodge County	737	14.1	63.9
Irish:			
Boston, Mass., Ward 4	610	28.0	66.7
New York City, 6 sanitary districts	508	30.0 to 49.9	40.2 to 46.9
Italian:			
Boston, Mass., Ward 5	1,001	51.7	51.4
Camden, N. J., Ward 3	997	31.2	85.6
Chicago, Ill., Ward 19	1,109	47.1	65.3
New York City, 14 sanitary districts	1,047	40.3 to 51.8	85.3 to 98.1
Schenectady, N. Y., Ward 3	1,040	39.8	66.1
Jewish:			
New York City, 7 sanitary districts	819	49.2 to 54.0	(2)
Native White of Native Parentage:			
Atlanta, Ga., Ward 8	319		[3] 84.3
Chicago, Ill., Ward 21	258		[3] 37.9
New York City, 8 sanitary districts	494		[3] 44.0 to 54.0
St. Louis, Mo., Ward 28	242		[3] 61.6
Negro:			
Atlanta, Ga., Ward 4	315		[3] 65.4
Chicago, Ill., Ward 2	254		[3] 69.5
New York City, 5 sanitary districts	260		[3] 75.0 to 96.4
St. Louis, Mo., Ward 6	146		46.4
Polish:			
Chicago, Ill., Wards 16 and 17	1,065	44.6	65.2
Detroit, Mich., Ward 16	919	32.5	54.4
Hamtramck, Mich.	1,481	47.4	67.2
Milwaukee, Wis., Ward 14	1,146	30.1	81.2
New York City, 4 sanitary districts	1,239	33.5 to 38.1	60.2 to 79.4
Wisconsin, Portage County	992	14.2	46.2
Scandinavian:			
Minneapolis, Minn., Ward 12	776	25.2	73.4
New York City, 6 sanitary districts	496	23.0 to 41.8	33.9 to 65.7
Iowa, Winnebago County	845	15.6	78.3
Minnesota:			
Koochiching County	1,057	30.7	50.5
Roseau County	1,125	25.0	78.2
Wisconsin, Polk County	970	19.3	78.5

[1] German, 38.7 per cent; Dutch, 38 per cent.
[2] Russian, 75.8 to 86.1 per cent; Polish and Austrian, 5.6 to 12.8.
[3] Per cent of total population.

In Table 25 it appears that the Poles and Italians stand well at the top among immigrant groups. Unfortunately these different nationality groups can be identified in only a few localities; hence the data on ratio of children in the different groups are rather meager. The data in Table 7 seem to indicate that there is little difference in number of births to Polish and Italian women and to German women. There are reasons for believing, however, that the birth reports minimize the differences between the old and new immigrants. In the first place, many of the countries of Europe contain groups of outside nationalities with different birth rates; for example, Germany in Table 7 includes German Poles as well as true Germans. In the second place, the Poles and Italians are much more recent immigrants than many from northern and western Europe and it is probable that their families are not as nearly completed as those of the earlier immigrants. The study of the "Fecundity of women of native and foreign parentage"[7] showed that Polish women ranked highest in number of children (6.2) of all foreign-born women under 45 years, married 10 to 20 years. The Italian women, with 4.9 were sixth in this respect. The Bohemian women had 5.0, the Finnish women 5.3, and the Russian women 5.4. The Poles were certainly well ahead of all other groups in number of children in 1900 and it seems unlikely that any material change has taken place since then. But the number of Polish (1,476) and Italian (1,167) women included in the commission's report is so small that we can not be sure the sample was entirely typical. There can be no doubt, however, that the groups of newer immigrants studied by the commission are more prolific than the English (3.4), the English-Canadians (3.5), the Scotch (3.6), and the Germans (4.3), while they still further exceed the native women of native parentage, with only 2.7 children.

Meager and unsatisfactory as these data on the ratios of children and birth rates in different nationality groups are, they seem to indicate that if we could get at the details more fully we should probably have a smaller unexplained residuum of difference between cities than is now the case.

If we turn to Table 21 again we shall find additional evidence that there is some relation between a high ratio of children to foreign-born women and the proportion of them who are of the new immigration. Of the 20 cities ranking highest in ratio of children 11 rank 20 or above in proportion of the foreign born who are new immigrants. At the other extreme, among the 20 cities having lowest ratios of children there are 3 that have high proportions of new immigrants—two boroughs of New York city, Manhattan and Bronx, and San Antonio. In the case of San Antonio no doubt the very high death rate of Mexican children and underenumeration may largely account for the low ratio of children. In the New York boroughs the low marriage rate will partly account for low ratios. Of the other seventeen, 8 are among the 20 having the lowest proportion of new immigrants and 4 others come close to this line.

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[7] Report of the Immigration Commission, 1910, Vol. II.

The cities in which it is most difficult to establish this relation between a high ratio of children to foreign-born women and a high proportion of new immigrants are, on the whole, the southern cities and the New York boroughs. The case of San Antonio has already been discussed. No doubt the same situation exists in Fort Worth, Houston, and some of the other southwestern cities. In the other southern cities the foreign-born groups are small but they contain a high proportion of Jews. Apparently there is a tendency among the Jews to raise somewhat smaller families than other of our new immigrants, if so, this will help to account for the low ratios of children to foreign-born women in the boroughs of New York.

A comparison between Paterson, N. J., and Youngstown, Ohio, may also be of interest in this connection.

Youngstown has 72.1 per cent of new immigrants among its foreign born and a ratio of 1,051 children. Paterson has 56.3 per cent of new immigrants and a ratio of 631 children. Here, although the proportion of new immigrants in the foreign-born population is only slightly over one-fourth greater in Youngstown than in Paterson, it is accompanied by a two-thirds greater ratio of children to foreign-born women. The presence of much larger Slavic and Hungarian elements in Youngstown than in Paterson no doubt accounts for some of this excess ratio. But the difference in immigrant type is also accompanied by a difference in the type of industry in the two cities. Paterson is a textile city and Youngstown is, par excellence, a steel city. In the former a large number of women, both native and foreign born, work outside the home. In the latter very few women are gainfully employed. Paterson ranks 7 in per cent of employed native white married women 15 years of age and over, Youngstown, 69; Paterson ranks 4 in employed foreign-born white married women over 15, Youngstown, 72 (Table 23); Paterson ranks 8 in employed foreign-born white women over 10, Youngstown, 72 (Table 21); Paterson ranks 5 in employed native white women over 10, Youngstown, 72 (Table 20).

These facts seem to show beyond reasonable doubt that there is a very close relationship between the ratio of children to foreign-born women and the type of immigrant in the different cities.

PROPORTION OF YOUNG WOMEN

Another factor of considerable importance in determining the ratio of children to women, both native and foreign born, is the proportion of young women in the population. (See Table 26.) It is a well-known fact that the fertility of women diminishes rather rapidly after 35 years of age. Naturally those cities that have unusually large proportions of women 20 to 34 would be expected to have more young children than the cities where there are more women in the age groups above 35.

TABLE 26.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE WITH PER CENTS AND RATIOS FOR CERTAIN OTHER FACTORS, FOR CITIES OF 100,000 INHABITANTS AND OVER, ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SIZE OF CITY: 1920

CITY	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE		PER CENT WOMEN 20 TO 34 ARE OF WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE		MALES PER 100 FEMALES		Per cent of total gainfully employed persons[1] engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries
	Native white	Foreign-born white	Native white	Foreign-born white	Native white population	Foreign-born white population	
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
New York, N. Y.	316	610	72.1	61.7	96.5	105.0	42.8
Chicago, Ill.	332	712	72.9	59.2	97.3	115.5	43.8
Philadelphia, Pa.	370	737	68.7	59.4	96.5	106.8	52.9
Detroit, Mich.	408	786	74.1	65.3	109.8	140.7	60.7
Cleveland, Ohio	356	810	71.8	62.1	100.0	125.0	57.4
St. Louis, Mo.	308	579	67.5	54.3	94.6	119.8	46.5
Boston, Mass.	304	631	70.0	56.8	96.7	97.2	42.6
Baltimore, Md.	416	749	67.6	56.6	95.4	110.4	48.7
Pittsburgh, Pa.	392	869	69.1	57.0	96.0	119.1	45.3
Los Angeles, Calif.	234	452	62.8	55.5	91.7	116.0	36.0
Buffalo, N. Y.	364	818	70.7	56.9	95.9	114.0	50.1
San Francisco, Calif.	228	420	66.4	54.7	103.6	144.8	35.7
Milwaukee, Wis.	381	755	72.6	53.5	93.5	123.0	56.3
Washington, D. C.	240	491	69.2	56.8	84.8	112.9	23.0
Newark, N. J.	332	828	71.2	60.9	97.6	112.4	56.8
Cincinnati, Ohio	336	503	65.0	50.3	92.1	103.6	50.0
New Orleans, La.	396	544	67.5	53.5	94.5	147.7	38.8
Minneapolis, Minn.	335	620	73.5	54.9	92.4	122.1	38.6
Kansas City, Mo.	293	639	67.4	56.5	97.4	128.8	33.7
Seattle, Wash.	300	430	67.5	49.3	102.0	145.5	41.5
Indianapolis, Ind.	354	610	65.8	50.7	96.7	123.2	48.9
Jersey City, N. J.	381	888	72.0	58.7	98.2	112.4	43.6
Rochester, N. Y.	333	775	67.1	60.1	93.6	107.8	58.2
Portland, Oreg.	312	493	66.7	53.7	96.5	138.3	40.2
Denver, Colo.	294	510	66.5	48.0	102.5	124.9	32.4
Toledo, Ohio	372	849	68.0	55.8	101.8	132.7	52.8
Providence, R. I.	301	737	68.0	57.1	92.1	97.7	58.5
Columbus, Ohio	351	691	65.7	50.5	96.9	131.3	44.9
Louisville, Ky.	358	541	66.3	45.2	90.8	102.5	46.7
St. Paul, Minn.	369	626	74.3	49.6	94.9	118.7	38.7
Oakland, Calif.	307	504	64.8	52.1	97.5	129.6	44.4
Akron, Ohio	408	847	75.0	66.3	129.1	185.3	70.5
Atlanta, Ga.	377	536	69.2	56.8	94.8	132.5	35.4
Omaha, Nebr.	332	713	71.1	54.8	101.1	128.7	38.9
Worcester, Mass.	349	764	70.0	58.2	95.4	109.1	58.9
Birmingham, Ala.	431	778	70.0	54.3	100.4	135.4	43.1
Syracuse, N. Y.	339	842	66.4	57.8	96.4	117.1	51.9
Richmond, Va.	401	608	68.5	56.8	89.6	120.4	46.8
New Haven, Conn.	326	880	70.1	59.6	93.9	106.2	51.4
Memphis, Tenn.	339	624	67.9	54.2	96.7	130.2	35.9
San Antonio, Tex.	389	571	69.8	63.5	97.0	113.7	25.2
Dallas, Tex.	331	593	71.5	60.9	98.3	140.3	29.6
Dayton, Ohio	398	762	67.7	57.1	99.2	129.3	57.9
Bridgeport, Conn.	350	837	71.6	63.6	98.8	119.6	64.2
Houston, Tex.	346	612	69.2	62.7	98.6	130.9	36.7

[1] Total for gainfully employed persons does not include persons engaged in domestic and personal service.

TABLE 26.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE WITH PER CENTS AND RATIOS FOR CERTAIN OTHER FACTORS, FOR CITIES OF 100,000 INHABITANTS AND OVER, ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SIZE OF CITY: 1920 —Continued

CITY	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE		PER CENT WOMEN 20 TO 34 ARE OF WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE		MALES PER 100 FEMALES		Per cent of total gainfully employed persons engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries
	Native white	Foreign-born white	Native white	Foreign-born white	Native white population	Foreign-born white population	
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Hartford, Conn	292	750	72.0	61.5	95.2	111.8	49.7
Scranton, Pa	405	990	70.5	53.8	92.2	112.7	34.4
Grand Rapids, Mich	399	770	69.7	53.5	92.4	112.3	54.2
Paterson, N. J	324	631	71.5	56.5	94.3	105.8	67.6
Youngstown, Ohio	441	1,051	70.7	63.4	100.9	157.5	57.9
Springfield, Mass	331	692	69.2	59.6	94.2	103.2	51.9
Des Moines, Iowa	362	617	68.7	53.3	94.0	123.9	31.6
New Bedford, Mass	342	601	73.5	62.6	94.1	96.1	76.1
Fall River, Mass	379	784	73.3	57.2	92.5	92.4	74.8
Trenton, N. J	364	903	69.9	61.8	97.4	121.2	62.6
Nashville, Tenn	389	460	67.2	47.9	92.3	117.0	40.7
Salt Lake City, Utah	498	690	69.7	50.7	97.7	100.4	31.3
Camden, N. J	453	929	69.4	61.5	100.1	120.8	63.3
Norfolk, Va	380	650	69.4	61.9	105.1	206.7	35.3
Albany, N. Y	267	722	64.3	56.4	91.1	103.6	37.7
Lowell, Mass	364	650	72.0	57.4	91.7	94.3	71.3
Wilmington, Del	424	1,010	69.0	62.6	98.5	134.8	54.4
Cambridge, Mass	318	644	70.8	58.0	92.1	90.1	47.9
Reading, Pa	390	1,048	64.3	60.1	94.4	133.2	67.8
Fort Worth, Tex	351	644	70.9	65.6	109.9	180.8	39.7
Spokane, Wash	346	500	65.1	40.0	95.3	128.5	30.9
Kansas City, Kans	458	935	67.8	62.1	101.3	142.5	51.0
Yonkers, N. Y	353	760	69.3	56.3	93.8	102.2	49.7

The way in which age affects the birth rate is shown very clearly in the following table (see Table 27) where the number of births per 1,000 women at different ages in the United States and certain localities within the United States in 1920 are given. In the registration area at that time 1,000 women aged 25 to 29 had approximately twice as many births as women aged 35 to 39 and almost five times as many as those aged 40 to 44.

The data for England and Wales given in Chapter VI show the same decrease in birth rates as the age of women increases and indicate clearly that a difference in the average age of childbearing women of two or three years in different populations would be sufficient to account for quite a difference in the ratio of children to women.

SIZE OF CITY

A careful examination of Tables 20 and 21 fails to disclose any relation between the ratio of children and the size of the city for either the native or the foreign-born women. The larger and smaller cities seem to be scattered quite evenly over the entire range when they are arranged according to rank in ratio of children, and ranks in ratio of children seem to be mixed up without rime or reason when the cities are arranged according to size. One can only conclude that the other factors we have discussed are so decisive in these big cities that any influence size may have is effectually obscured.

TABLE 27.—SPECIFIC BIRTH RATES FOR CERTAIN GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES: 1920 [1]

	BIRTHS PER 1,000 WOMEN—AGE OF MOTHER								
	10–14 years	15–19 years	20–24 years	25–29 years	30–34 years	35–39 years	40–44 years	45–49 years	50–54 years
All whites:									
United States (registration area)	0.2	45.4	150.6	154.1	119.1	80.3	32.0	3.5	(2)
Conn., Mass., N. Y	(2)	30.5	134.1	151.8	117.2	73.5	27.0	2.5	(2)
Kans., Minn., Wis	(2)	36.1	154.5	171.0	137.4	97.2	42.2	6.0	0.2
Eleven large cities	(2)	29.5	130.0	147.1	113.5	71.3	26.2	2.5	(2)
Native whites—									
Conn., Mass., N. Y	(2)	27.2	114.1	124.6	89.0	50.9	18.3	1.2	(2)
Ky., N. C., S. C	0.4	79.5	213.8	212.2	176.7	136.6	61.2	6.6	0.2
Kans., Minn., Wis	(2)	35.0	150.2	167.1	132.5	91.1	37.9	4.7	0.2
Calif., Oreg., Wash	0.2	50.7	145.4	129.2	88.0	51.3	18.1	1.7	(2)
Eleven large cities	(2)	26.2	109.8	119.9	85.7	49.0	17.7	1.2	(2)
Washington, D. C	0.6	43.5	78.5	82.8	68.4	40.0	10.1	1.4	(2)
Urban United States	(2)	24.9	109.6	124.2	95.8	60.2	22.0	2.1	(2)
Rural United States	0.2	60.6	193.4	201.3	165.0	122.8	54.4	6.6	0.2
Foreign whites—									
Conn., Mass., N. Y	(2)	48.0	189.3	201.1	159.4	103.4	38.9	3.9	(2)
Kans., Minn., Wis	(2)	60.2	223.1	205.4	165.4	122.0	55.6	9.3	(2)
Eleven large cities	(2)	46.4	182.1	193.6	153.5	99.5	37.5	3.7	(2)
Negroes:									
Seven Southern States	2.1	107.7	211.2	189.1	153.5	112.7	45.7	8.9	0.6
Sixteen Northern States	2.5	114.3	155.1	111.9	77.7	48.6	19.8	2.9	0.2
Twelve large cities	2.7	102.0	133.1	89.2	66.3	40.2	12.6	2.1	(2)

[1] The rates for the United States (registration area) were obtained by multiplying the rates for daughters given by Dublin and Lotka (Journal of the American Statistical Association, Vol. XX, No. 151, September, 1925, p. 309) by 106 to secure births of sons, adding the two together to give a rate for all births, and pointing off the result to give births per 1,000 women. The rates for the different locality groups were obtained in the same way from the rates for these groups given by P. K. Whelpton (same periodical, Vol. XXIV, No. 167, September, 1929, p. 243).

[2] Less than 0.2 per thousand.

MASCULINITY

There seems to be little connection between the masculinity of the population of these cities and the ratio of children. The great difference between the masculinity of the native population and the foreign-born population suggests, however, that the availability of suitable men for native women may have something to do with the extent to which they marry and this may also affect the ratio of children. In only 13 out of the 68 cities in Table 26 are there 100 or more males per 100 females in the native white population. Thus some of the native women must either marry foreign-born men or remain unmarried. This situation is bound to have considerable effect upon marriage. It is no doubt one of the important factors in producing the differences in proportion of women married to which we have already called attention. What effect it would have upon the ratio of children is impossible to say.

In closing this discussion regarding the ratio of children to women in the large cities we wish to call attention briefly to two rather intangible elements in the situation.

BIRTH CONTROL

The first of these is the extent to which the knowledge of contraceptive methods is spread in different communities. There is probably no city of over 100,000 in the United States where knowledge of some method of family limitation can not be readily secured by anyone; but there are nevertheless considerable differences in the degree of its diffusion in various cities. It has been found through careful investigation in English communities of different types, as was mentioned above, that where a large number of women are thrown together in their work, as in textile mills, stores, etc., the knowledge of the methods of family limitation is all but universal. This may, in part, account for some of the differences in ratios of children between those cities where employment of women is high and where it is low. Of course this at once leads us to ask why, if this knowledge is generally procurable, it spreads more rapidly and is made use of more generally in some communities than in others.

One answer to this question is that the social and economic conditions in some cities must put more pressure on their inhabitants to restrict the size of their families than is the case in other cities. Why this should be so only a thorough knowledge of the working and living conditions in different cities and in different parts of the same city would show. There can be little doubt, however, that the varying ratios of children to women represent, to a certain extent, varying pressure, both social and economic, urging people to the securing of birth control knowledge and to the application of this knowledge to their own family life. The differing proportions of married women in the different cities also seem to indicate much greater reluctance to practice birth control in some localities than in others.

UNEXPLAINED DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CITIES

The consideration of community differences in the knowledge and practice of birth control brings us directly to the second of the points to which we should like to call attention, namely, the differences in mental attitudes displayed by different groups and communities regarding marriage and the family. That there are such differences needs no proving: everyone is aware of them. The full explanation of them on general grounds seems impossible. Why should Baltimore have so many more children per 1,000 native white women (416) than St. Louis (308)? The data adduced above do not seem to fully account for these differences. Nor do they explain fully why St. Paul, Minn., (369) should be so different from Kansas City, Mo., (293) nor why Los Angeles (234) differs so much from Detroit (408). It seems that we are driven to recognize that different communities have at present quite different attitudes toward life. They see a different meaning in life and as one expression of these different outlooks on the world they adopt different attitudes toward family life and the raising of children. If we knew rather fully the most significant mental currents in the different cities and in the different groups which make up a city we could probably account for some of these differences between them in ratios of children. All we can say now, however, is that there are individual mental differences between cities which result in different ratios of children to women in much the same way that personal differences between people in similar surroundings result in some remaining celibate, some marrying and having no children, some marrying and having small families, and some marrying and having large families. In other words, cities like people have distinctive individualities, only partly knowable even to their most interested and well informed students, but quite beyond the ken of the outsider. And the subtle forces that operate to make family life what it is are among the most difficult of all forces to measure and understand. A certain unexplained and perhaps unexplainable residuum of differences between communities as regards ratio of children to women must be traced to these community individualities and allowed to rest there without further explanation at present.

IV

RATIOS OF CHILDREN TO WOMEN IN CITIES OF 25,000 TO 100,000 INHABITANTS

On account of the large number of cities in this group (25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants)[1] it has been necessary to select certain of them for condensed tables in the text. Forty cities are used in the chief tables. The first 20 in these tables are those ranking highest in ratio of children to women, and the second 20 are those ranking lowest in this respect.

CITIES HAVING HIGHEST AND LOWEST RATIOS FOR NATIVE WOMEN

Table 28 gives data for the native white women. It will be noticed at once that all but a few of the cities having highest ratios of children have rather high percentages of their employed population engaged in manufacturing and mechanical occupations. Ogden, Utah,[2] Roanoke, Va., and Pensacola, Fla., are the only cities having less than 40 per cent so engaged, while 13 of them have 50 per cent or more so engaged. As regards their location, if Ogden, Roanoke, and Pensacola are omitted from consideration, these cities are located in the more highly industrialized regions of the North and the South: 10 are found in the heavy industry region in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana; and 7 are found in the industrial South, in Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, and North Carolina.

In comparing these two groups of cities we find certain rather pronounced differences. In general, the northern cities have a considerably larger proportion of native women who are of foreign and mixed parentage than the southern cities. There is some reason to think that this is one of the factors in keeping the ratio of children to women high in the northern cities; although when they are compared in this respect with the 20 cities having the lowest ratios it is difficult to detect any consistent relationship of this kind. In these smaller cities, as in the States and the larger cities, certain other factors seem to be of so much more importance than the proportion of native women of foreign or mixed parentage that the influence of this factor is pretty effectually obscured. How confused this relation is is shown if we compare Winston-Salem, N. C. (rank 5), with Lawrence, Mass. (rank 205), in which the ranks as regards the proportion of native women of

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[1] For the complete list of cities having 25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants with their ratios of children to women by States, see Detailed Table I. p. 200.

[2] The reasons for the high rank of Ogden are discussed more fully in Chapter VII, section on Utah.

TABLE 28.—FORTY SELECTED CITIES OF 25,000 TO 100,000 INHABITANTS RANKED ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE BY MARITAL CONDITION, WITH PER CENTS AND RANKINGS FOR CERTAIN OTHER FACTORS: 1920 [1]

CITY	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE						WOMEN 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED			Per cent of total gainfully employed persons engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries [2]
	All women		Married, widowed, or divorced women		Foreign or mixed parentage		Married, widowed, or divorced		20 to 34 years of age		Per cent of total women 10 years of age and over	Rank	Per cent married, widowed, or divorced	
	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Per cent	Rank	Per cent	Rank	Per cent	Rank				
HIGHEST RATIO OF CHILDREN	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
Hamtramck, Mich	829	1	974	1	85.8	1	85.2	1	83.9	1	12.4	219	26.4	88.5
Ogden, Utah	571	2	719	8	46.6	68	79.4	24	70.3	63	17.9	211	17.3	35.2
Bay City, Mich	550	3	770	3	65.9	13	71.4	107	70.6	52	22.6	163	13.3	51.5
Johnstown, Pa	533	4	765	5	27.3	137	69.6	124	70.1	70	17.9	210	8.1	55.9
Winston-Salem, N. C	524	5	734	7	1.4	219	71.4	106	74.9	13	48.6	1	39.0	72.3
Roanoke, Va	520	6	686	18	3.5	212	75.9	62	70.6	54	22.7	159	19.6	38.9
Pensacola, Fla	520	7	639	42	16.2	169	81.5	10	71.2	43	27.6	75	35.3	46.6
Clarksburg, W. Va	519	8	669	27	8.3	198	77.6	43	70.5	57	18.8	208	17.9	44.4
Hagerstown, Md	517	9	679	22	4.5	208	76.1	58	66.3	165	22.3	172	15.4	48.2
Charlotte, N. C	514	10	706	12	2.8	218	72.7	98	71.2	42	35.6	24	32.4	44.0
Port Huron, Mich	512	11	676	23	57.4	35	75.7	63	70.1	71	18.4	209	12.7	51.1
Huntington, W. Va	512	12	649	37	4.0	210	78.9	27	68.1	118	20.4	197	21.2	49.8
Kokomo, Ind	508	13	600	74	8.6	193	84.6	2	66.9	148	18.9	207	27.9	66.0
Portsmouth, Ohio	507	14	666	28	11.2	185	76.2	56	68.7	100	22.9	157	16.7	57.8
Hazleton, Pa	504	15	818	2	52.8	49	61.6	189	73.5	23	24.1	130	4.7	37.3
Wilmington, N. C	504	16	671	26	4.8	207	75.2	70	69.8	77	32.5	39	30.6	48.5
Portsmouth, Va	503	17	631	47	6.9	204	79.7	23	68.4	109	25.6	107	30.2	43.0
Bethlehem, Pa	500	18	672	25	21.0	158	74.5	79	68.3	112	20.9	189	18.5	66.5
Gary, Ind	498	19	595	81	37.8	101	83.7	4	75.0	12	14.4	216	24.0	66.1
East Chicago, Ind	491	20	607	66	50.1	57	80.9	15	76.0	11	12.5	218	17.0	79.4

[1] Columns A, C, G, Detailed Table I; columns E and I Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Population, 1920, pp. 305-361; columns K and N, Vol. IV, Occupations, 1920, pp. 240-335; column M, pp. 369-372.

[2] Total gainfully employed persons does not include persons engaged in domestic and personal service.

Table 28.—Forty Selected Cities of 25,000 to 100,000 Inhabitants Ranked According to Number of Children Under 5 per 1,000 Native White Women 20 to 44 Years of Age, by Marital Condition, with Per Cents and Rankings for Certain Other Factors: 1920—Continued

CITY	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE						WOMEN 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED			Per cent of total gainfully employed persons engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries
	All women		Married, widowed, or divorced women		Foreign or mixed parentage		Married, widowed, or divorced		20 to 34 years of age		Per cent of total women 10 years of age and over	Rank	Per cent married, widowed, or divorced	
	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Per cent	Rank	Per cent	Rank	Per cent	Rank				
LOWEST RATIO OF CHILDREN	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
Bangor, Me	309	200	501	170	26.7	139	61.8	185	63.8	203	25.7	104	14.9	29.3
Kingston, N. Y	309	201	530	141	30.3	125	58.3	201	65.3	181	28.8	59	10.7	51.8
Atlantic City, N. J	309	202	443	206	29.4	128	69.9	121	62.5	210	32.6	38	28.0	36.4
Fresno, Calif	307	203	399	216	27.5	135	76.9	48	67.9	127	23.0	155	27.9	33.9
Sacramento, Calif	304	204	395	217	38.2	99	76.9	49	65.8	174	24.8	118	25.0	35.0
Lawrence, Mass	301	205	589	90	75.7	4	51.1	217	72.0	39	43.4	2	33.4	78.0
Utica, N. Y	300	206	480	187	43.8	80	62.5	183	65.7	176	31.4	42	24.4	58.0
East Orange, N. J	298	207	446	205	35.9	108	66.8	148	63.1	208	24.5	125	13.6	32.1
Colorado Springs, Colo	297	208	442	208	23.5	147	67.2	142	61.9	213	24.3	129	20.0	27.8
San Jose, Calif	295	209	430	213	43.2	82	68.5	133	64.7	192	22.5	167	22.5	38.6
Berkeley, Calif	293	210	457	200	38.1	100	64.2	168	65.9	172	22.7	161	18.5	32.4
Auburn, N. Y	291	211	449	203	40.8	93	67.7	163	61.3	216	29.1	54	22.8	61.4
Waltham, Mass	288	212	600	72	53.2	43	47.9	219	70.3	62	37.3	17	15.6	61.9
Amsterdam, N. Y	286	213	464	193	44.2	78	61.8	187	68.1	117	38.8	11	34.3	74.5
San Diego, Calif	284	214	382	218	32.2	119	74.3	84	61.9	214	23.3	144	27.6	30.4
Long Beach, Calif	276	215	369	219	24.7	142	74.9	74	60.6	217	16.6	215	25.6	44.1
Troy, N. Y	272	216	518	153	44.7	64	52.4	214	64.2	197	35.8	23	12.4	58.6
Pasadena Calif	267	217	418	214	27.8	134	63.9	171	57.6	219	25.9	102	17.9	28.9
Elgin, Ill	265	218	441	210	48.8	63	60.2	197	68.6	105	31.5	41	21.7	63.4
Brookline, Mass	257	219	500	171	43.0	84	51.3	216	61.8	215	37.5	16	7.3	21.2

foreign or mixed parentage are 219 and 4, respectively. Bay City, Mich., and Waltham, Mass., also furnish almost equally good examples of high and low ratios of children (Bay City 550 and Waltham 288) accompanied by high proportions (Bay City 65.9 per cent and Waltham 53.2 per cent) of native women of foreign and mixed parentage. Other northern cities among the 20 highest in ratios of children to native women either exceed by very little or are even lower in proportion of native women of foreign and mixed parentage than many of those among the 20 having lowest ranks, as examples: East Chicago and Elgin, Johnstown and Berkeley, and Portsmouth, Ohio, and Brookline.

Rather obviously the proportion of native women of foreign and mixed parentage will not go far as a general explanation of these differences in ratios of children. In the case of some particular cities, however, the differences in ratios are quite satisfactorily explained in this manner. The very high ratio of children to women in Hamtramck, Mich., can be explained by the proportion of the native women who are of foreign and mixed parentage. Hamtramck is a foreign district in Detroit which can be isolated because of its separate incorporation. It ranks first in ratio of children to native white women, having a ratio of children almost one-half greater than that of Ogden, Utah, which ranks second. It also ranks first in ratio of children to foreign-born white women (see Table 29) being slightly in excess of Rome, N. Y., which ranks second. It is a district almost wholly Polish. Of its foreign-born population 94.7 per cent is of the new immigration. Furthermore, 85.8 per cent of the native white women are of foreign or mixed parentage and 85.2 per cent of the native white women are married. Besides, almost one-half of its population is foreign born. It ranks first in all these respects. Here, then, we have a very good illustration of a community in which the attitudes of mind of the foreign born toward family life and the rearing of children might be expected to remain dominant in the second generation because of lack of contact with older native people. The very high ratios of children indicate that this is the case, but even here it is interesting to see that the native white women who are almost entirely of foreign or mixed parentage have a ratio of children of only 829 (Table 28) as compared with 1,277 for foreign-born white women (Table 29). The ratio of children to foreign-born white women is about one-half greater than that of their native daughters, even though a larger percentage of the native women (83.9) are 20 to 34 years old, than is the case among the foreign-born women (79.5). This is a very remarkable decline and it would probably be still greater if the everyday contacts of the native children with people at large were not so exclusively with others of their own nationality.

We have here, then, a case where an exceedingly prolific foreign-born group, together with its children, is as isolated as it can be in an American city, and though we find that among the foreign born the influence of American life appears negligible as regards family customs, we find that the native children show a falling-off of over one-third in the ratio of children. At the same time, these native children show the carry-over of the habits of family life acquired in a foreign community in having by far the highest ratio of children of any native group of women. In this particular case then, there can be no doubt that the fact that the native white women are largely of foreign parentage has a very great influence upon their bearing of children.

In order to show that this same decline in ratio of children between the foreign-born women and their daughters holds for other localities and nationalities, we may take five other cities in the United States of 25,000 to 100,000, in all of which over 69 per cent of the native whites are of foreign or mixed parentage. These cities, together with the per cent by which the ratio of children to foreign-born white women exceeds the ratio of children to native white women, are: Cicero, Ill., 63.2 per cent; Woonsocket, R. I., 80.8 per cent; Holyoke, Mass., 100.6 per cent; Lawrence, Mass., 137.9 per cent; and Chicopee, Mass., 104.3 per cent. It is not maintained that these differences are due entirely to the smaller families of the native women of foreign and mixed parentage, but when the second-generation women constitute 69 per cent or more (up to 85.8 per cent) of all native women, such declines can not be attributed exclusively or even primarily to the very small families of the people of old native stock. The daughters of immigrant women, no matter to what nationality they belong, French-Canadian, Polish, Portuguese, or Czech, through postponement of marriage, through conception control, or through both, raise fewer children than their mothers.

The differences between North and South in the proportion of native women of foreign and mixed parentage are also of great interest. The processes of population growth in the industrial cities of the South are entirely different from those in the North. The southern cities have grown almost entirely by migration from the surrounding rural districts. The few foreigners in them are largely engaged in trade rather than as laborers in manufacturing. The rural migrants have evidently brought with them the manners and customs of family life prevailing in their former homes, hence their birth rates remain at a fairly high level. In other words, they represent a *family* migration from the rural districts similar in many respects to the immigration to our northern cities from European countries. Like the immigrants from Europe, although not to the same degree, the southern migrants from rural communities retain for some time the habits of life and attitudes of mind which had become fixed in their rural homes. Since a high ratio of children to women seems to be characteristic of these groups, it is not at all surprising that a number of the rapidly growing smaller cities in the South have much the same ratios of children to native white women as some of the smaller northern cities with large groups of second-generation immigrants. That the smaller southern cities as a whole do stand high in ratio of children to native white women is shown by the fact that the South Atlantic States with 25 cities of 25,000 to 100,000, or about one-ninth of the total number of such cities, have 13 or just over one-fourth of all those ranking 1 to 50 in ratio of children to native white women.

Again attention is called to the fact that the northern cities with high ratios of children are mostly cities where heavy industry predominates. The southern industrial cities, on the other hand, are mostly textile and tobacco manufacturing cities where work is light. As a consequence in the southern cities a considerably larger proportion of the women are gainfully employed (Table 28, column K) than in the northern cities. In spite of this fact, the ratio of children is as high in the South as in the North.

Comparing the 20 cities having the lowest ratios of children to native women with those having the highest ratios, we find certain marked differences. Seven of the 20 with lowest ratios are California cities, which may be called residential and resort cities rather than manufacturing cities. With these may be classed Atlantic City, East Orange, Colorado Springs, and Brookline. Thus 11 of the 20 belong to the residential type of city rather than to the manufacturing type. (See column N, Table 28.) The other nine are manufacturing cities (Bangor and Kingston only moderately so), all of them except Elgin being located in the northeast part of the country. As compared with the northern manufacturing cities having high ratios, where heavy manufacturing predominates, they are cities in which textiles and other types of light manufacturing predominate, such as watch-making in Elgin and Waltham. This difference in type of manufacturing carried on is significant in several respects, but before entering on its discussion we shall turn our attention to the residential cities.

RESIDENTIAL CITIES

It seems a safe assumption that the incomes of people in all of the 11 cities of this residential group are well above the average of those in the manufacturing cities with high ratios. If this is the case then we have here another example of the inverse relation of income and birth rate with which we have become so familiar in recent years. The reasons for this general condition must not detain us here, but we may point out that all those various forces which we subsume under the expression "freedom of women" are much more operative in residential communities than in most other types of communities. It is but natural that the breaking of the bonds of the traditional "sphere of woman," characteristic of the well-to-do class, and the general disorganization of the life of women which this involves should have a pronounced effect upon the size of the family. In communities where women are less emancipated, childbearing will not be so consciously controlled and families will probably be larger. This is one of the important reasons for the higher ratios of children in the southern cities and in the northern manufacturing cities where factory work is done largely by men.

Another factor making for low ratios of children in the residential cities is probably the great mobility of population in such cities. The people not only move about from place to place a great deal, but they also travel a great deal. Present day migration and travel are exceedingly inimical to the raising of children. The pioneering migration of settlers on the land had a place for children in its organization of life, but present day migration has no place for them. Under such circumstances, they are almost an unmitigated nuisance, hampering movement, restricting economic opportunity, and requiring large personal sacrifices. Furthermore, migration and travel are always hard on custom and tradition. They tend to disorganize the habits and customs of people and throw them back on personal likes and dislikes as the basis for their judgments of values. This could not but react unfavorably upon the assumption of the obligations of family life.

As another factor in the situation, there is also the possibility of a selective attraction exerted by residential cities, which draw to them people who are ambitious. Ambitious people find small families a great advantage in their "climbing." Our study throws no light on the actuality of this selective process, but it seems not unreasonable to consider the possibility of such processes being active in the peopling of these cities.

There is also some reason to believe that areas like California, Colorado, and Florida, which make an appeal to people on the basis of climate, exert a strong pull upon those who are looking for an easeful life. Such people will, of course, tend to raise small families. Ever since the passing of the pioneering days people have gone West, and particularly to the west coast, largely because they believed they could live more comfortably there with less effort than elsewhere. It seems natural, therefore, to expect that their families would be small. It is indicative of the actuality of such a selective process in the peopling of the California cities that it makes no difference whether the people who go to the far West are of native or foreign birth, they have low ratios for their nativity groups. Even in the rural districts of the coast States this is the case, as we shall see in the following chapter.

In this connection it may also be pointed out that in a climate where people are not shut in to any great extent, and where cities early became dominant, the opportunities for the spread of urban attitudes of mind through the entire population are excellent, as good as in the Northeast where cities are everywhere and agriculture is of minor importance. One who knows a little of life on the west coast has no difficulty in believing that a large part of even the rural population there is pretty thoroughly urbanized—particularly in the specialty-farming areas.

But though there may be certain elements peculiar to life on the Pacific coast which lead the people there to raise small families, we must not forget that residential cities everywhere show much the same ratios and that they are always low. The people who gather in these cities do not want many children, whatever the reasons may be.

EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

An examination of Table 28, columns A and K shows that for the native women the cities having the highest ratios of children have in general smaller proportions of employed women than the cities with low ratios of children, that is to say, there are fewer children where there are more employed women. The average percentage of employed women over 10 years of age is 22.8 for the 20 cities with highest ratios of children and 29.0 for the cities with lowest ratios. That there are considerable differences in percentages of employed women between the cities with high ratios we have already seen. Those in the South, in general, have a high percentage of employed women, while those in the North have lower percentages. Again we find the rather marked difference between the North and the South in basic demographic factors to which we have already called attention. In spite of the fact that many southern women work at manufacturing in the textile mills and tobacco factories, they have as high ratios of children as the women in the northern cities where fewer work outside the home. No doubt one of the reasons fewer women work in these northern cities is that heavy manufactures predominate there, and in the cities where this is the case there are not so many jobs open to women, hence, they work at home and raise larger families. Then, too, it is quite probable that where women work at home the knowledge of methods of family limitation spreads more slowly, so that, other things being equal, voluntary control of childbearing is less common in such cities than in communities where women more commonly work outside the home.

On the whole, there appears to be a fairly close relationship between the employment of women and the ratio of children to women. The employment of women has a depressing effect upon the birth rate in the population at large. In a moment we shall give what seems to us the chief reason for so many exceptions among the southern cities. It is readily understandable, however, that women who wish to continue their outside work after marriage will desire smaller families than those who devote all their time to their homes. Women who work outside the home probably lose more of their children than those who do not and thus would have lower ratios even though they bore as many children.

MARRIAGE

We find from a careful examination of the data in Tables 28, 29, and 30 that the relation between ratio of children and marriage is complicated by several factors and that what might appear to be the natural relation, namely, the higher the percentage of married women the higher the ratio of children, is by no means universal. This relation is very clear in the case of the foreign-born women, and it appears at first glance to have some significance among the native women. Upon closer inspection, however, it seems probable that for the native white women this correspondence is not very significant. It must be recognized that a certain amount of correspondence in ratio of children and proportion of married women is an inevitable consequence of the method of grouping used here. Of course, if all married women bore and raised the same number of children, the rank of different cities in ratio of children to all women would vary directly with the proportion of married women in the different communities. But since the above assumption is not true we find very considerable variations in the ranks of cities in ratio of children and proportion of women married. This variation is considerably less among foreign-born women (Table 29) than among native women (Table 28), hence, we must seek for an explanation which will account for the differences between these groups as well as within them. Such an explanation, we believe, is to be found in the different degree of knowledge of birth control to be found in the different nativity and locality groups.

Where little is known about birth control, as among the foreign born, the ratio of children varies almost directly with the proportion of married women. Since among the foreign born marriage is expected of all women at a fairly early age, we find very high percentages of married women and extremely high ratios of children in many of the cities. All but one of the 20 cities with highest ratios of children to foreign-born women have ratios in excess of 1,000; that is, there is in these cities an average of slightly more than 1 child under 5 for every foreign-born woman. Except in Hamtramck, the average for the native women in cities with highest ratios is scarcely

TABLE 29.—FORTY SELECTED CITIES OF 25,000 TO 100,000 INHABITANTS RANKED ACCORDING TO RATIO OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 TO FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY MARITAL CONDITION, WITH PER CENTS AND RANKINGS FOR CERTAIN OTHER FACTORS: 1920 [1]

CITY	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION				FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				WOMEN 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED		
	All women		Married, widowed, or divorced women		Per cent of total population	Rank	New immigration		Married, widowed, or divorced		20 to 34 years of age		Per cent of total women 10 years of age and over	Rank	Per cent married, widowed, or divorced
	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank			Per cent	Rank	Per cent	Rank	Per cent	Rank			
HIGHEST RATIO OF CHILDREN	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
Hamtramck, Mich	1,277	1	1,322	2	47.4	1	94.7	2	96.6	1	79.5	1	12.4	219	26.4
Rome, N. Y	1,232	2	1,323	1	19.9	77	70.2	24	93.1	14	64.2	20	24.6	121	19.2
Johnstown, Pa	1,222	3	1,283	3	18.0	97	79.1	11	95.2	5	60.5	51	17.9	210	8.1
East Chicago, Ind	1,208	4	1,254	6	40.8	5	91.0	3	96.4	2	66.4	10	12.5	218	17.0
Hazleton, Pa	1,196	5	1,266	5	18.7	90	80.3	9	94.5	7	50.3	177	24.1	130	4.7
Steubenville, Ohio	1,187	6	1,271	4	19.6	82	76.1	14	93.3	12	63.5	29	18.9	206	14.2
New Castle, Pa	1,113	7	1,202	7	19.3	84	72.2	19	92.6	22	62.8	34	17.0	213	12.5
Altoona, Pa	1,106	8	1,192	8	8.8	151	56.2	70	92.8	18	58.4	78	20.1	199	10.8
Erie, Pa	1,094	9	1,182	9	18.6	93	57.8	66	92.5	25	58.8	73	20.9	190	11.4
Bayonne, N. J	1,085	10	1,172	10	33.2	18	74.1	16	92.6	21	64.3	19	20.1	198	9.8
McKeesport, Pa	1,074	11	1,141	14	25.4	53	68.6	29	94.1	8	57.5	95	16.8	214	10.5
Chester, Pa	1,068	12	1,142	13	19.5	83	72.1	20	93.6	9	66.8	9	23.0	152	20.6
Perth Amboy, N. J	1,059	13	1,134	16	35.8	10	78.4	12	93.3	10	64.1	21	22.0	178	16.9
Gary, Ind	1,030	14	1,073	23	29.7	30	84.5	4	96.0	4	65.5	14	14.4	216	24.0
Lorain, Ohio	1,026	15	1,065	25	32.0	23	82.4	8	96.3	3	61.1	46	12.5	217	11.9
Clarksburg, W. Va	1,025	16	1,128	17	7.0	160	68.4	32	90.9	36	61.0	48	18.8	208	18.0
Wilkes-Barre, Pa	1,024	17	1,137	15	19.7	80	59.4	61	90.1	44	54.7	125	23.2	145	6.3
Hammond, Ind	1,011	18	1,063	27	22.5	63	66.3	39	95.1	6	59.9	59	17.8	212	15.9
Bethlehem, Pa	1,008	19	1,100	20	21.7	67	84.3	5	91.6	32	69.6	3	20.9	189	18.5
New Britain, Conn	996	20	1,101	18	35.8	9	73.1	17	90.5	38	66.8	8	28.0	66	20.6

[1] Columns A and C, Detailed Table I; column I, Detailed Table II; column E, Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Population, 1920, pp. 117–135; column G, pp. 760–767; column K, pp. 305–361; column M, Vol. IV, Occupations, 1920, pp. 240–335; column O, pp. 369–372.

TABLE 29.—FORTY SELECTED CITIES OF 25,000 TO 100,000 INHABITANTS RANKED ACCORDING TO RATIO OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 TO FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY MARITAL CONDITION, WITH PER CENTS AND RANKINGS FOR CERTAIN OTHER FACTORS: 1920—Continued

CITY	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION				FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				WOMEN 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED		
	All women		Married, widowed, or divorced women		Per cent of total population	Rank	New immigration		Married, widowed, or divorced		20 to 34 years of age		Per cent of total women 10 years of age and over	Rank	Per cent married, widowed, or divorced
	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank			Per cent	Rank	Per cent	Rank	Per cent	Rank			
LOWEST RATIO OF CHILDREN	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
Danville, Ill	488	191	576	196	5.7	166	18.0	199	84.8	133	43.9	206	23.4	138	22.8
Macon, Ga	484	192	582	195	1.3	214	56.3	69	83.2	150	55.2	116	38.5	13	42.0
Davenport, Iowa	475	193	551	201	13.5	127	15.4	206	86.1	118	44.9	204	24.6	124	18.6
Tulsa, Okla	475	194	584	194	2.8	196	45.9	104	81.4	170	60.0	57	27.9	70	28.0
Fort Smith, Ark	468	195	595	192	3.0	192	32.2	151	78.6	185	45.4	202	22.3	173	26.0
Huntington, W. Va	465	196	568	198	1.5	212	46.7	102	81.9	161	62.5	36	20.4	197	21.2
East Orange, N. J	457	197	651	172	13.4	128	24.4	180	70.2	205	45.8	132	24.5	125	13.5
Evansville, Ind	457	198	540	202	3.7	186	12.2	213	84.6	137	37.3	216	27.0	87	17.4
Springfield, Mo	457	199	590	193	2.5	197	17.0	202	77.5	192	46.5	198	22.1	175	21.1
Miami, Fla	436	200	556	199	8.7	152	40.5	123	78.4	188	59.1	68	34.4	28	45.0
Lexington, Ky	419	201	520	203	1.9	205	44.9	109	80.6	175	52.4	150	35.2	26	35.0
Berkeley, Calif	406	202	514	204	17.1	106	30.1	159	79.0	183	52.1	157	22.7	161	18.5
East Cleveland, Ohio	378	203	481	206	14.1	122	24.4	181	78.5	186	54.5	128	22.9	156	15.5
Elgin, Ill	367	204	470	208	18.4	95	19.5	195	78.0	190	41.8	208	31.5	41	21.7
Oak Park, Ill	365	205	551	200	14.1	123	14.8	208	66.2	209	47.7	194	24.8	116	11.8
Colorado Springs, Colo	363	206	477	207	8.6	153	18.5	197	76.1	196	39.6	211	24.3	129	20.0
Long Beach, Calif	357	207	440	209	12.2	133	14.8	208	81.2	171	49.6	184	16.6	215	25.6
Quincy, Ill	330	208	439	210	6.7	162	9.4	217	75.1	199	34.4	219	25.5	108	13.5
Pasadena, Calif	307	209	510	205	15.0	118	17.7	200	60.0	211	47.4	196	25.9	102	17.9
Brookline, Mass	218	210	634	179	24.8	54	8.7	218	34.5	213	63.6	26	37.5	16	7.3

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one-half as high. Moreover, among the native women with high ratios of children we do not find the same consistently high percentages of married women. Greater or less knowledge of methods of family restriction seems to be a very important factor in determining the ratio of children to native women. Thus Winston-Salem, N. C., with only 71.4 per cent of its native women married and a rank of 106 in this respect, ranks fifth in ratio of children. The most plausible explanation seems to be that less is known about conception control by the natives in the South than in other parts of the country. On the other hand, to a certain extent they keep down the size of their families by refraining from marriage. The difference between a northern and a southern manufacturing city in the relation of ratio of children to married women may be observed by comparing Winston-Salem (ranks 5 and 106) with Kokomo, Ind. (ranks 13 and 2). The latter has a somewhat lower ratio of children, although it has about one-fifth more married women than the former. Since in both cities the women are almost wholly of old native stock, it seems a reasonable conclusion that the difference is largely due to the differences in the practice of family limitation.

The relation between the ratio of children and the percentage of married women in many other cities, particularly the California cities and northern manufacturing cities might also be explained in the same manner, but there is no need to dwell longer on this point. It needs no argument to convince anyone of the fairly close relation between the spread of the knowledge of conception control, the ratio of children, and the percentage of married women.

We have assumed here that there is no difference in the actual capacity of the women in these different communities to bear children (fecundity). This assumption is not entirely justified, since we have reason to believe that involuntary sterility is rather closely connected with urban living, especially among the classes in comfortable economic circumstances, but such an assumption probably is not far wrong as applied to the great majority of the laboring population.

PROPORTION OF YOUNG WOMEN

Another factor of some importance in determining the ratio of children to women is the proportion of the women who are in the more fertile age groups. A careful inspection of Table 28, column I, and Table 29, column K, will readily convince anyone that, as a rule, the more young women there are in a community the higher is its ratio of children. Among the 20 cities having the highest ratios of children to native white women (Table 28), the one ranking lowest in proportion of women 20 to 34 years of age is Hagerstown, Md. (165), being well below the middle point in this respect. But 5 others are also below 100 (100–219). The other 14 of them rank 1–77, thus belonging in the highest third. In the 20 cities with lowest ratios, on the other hand, only 2 rank 1 to 100. These are both industrial cities in Massachusetts with high percentages of foreign stock. Nine of them are above 200, that is, in the 19 with the lowest proportions of young women, and 6 more rank 144 to 219, that is, in what is approximately the highest one-third.

CITIES HAVING HIGHEST AND LOWEST RATIOS FOR FOREIGN-BORN WOMEN

At several points in the preceding discussion we have referred to the ratios of children to foreign-born women and compared them with those to native women. In general they are much higher. But when individual cities are compared as regards their ratios of children to foreign-born women, several interesting facts emerge.

NEW IMMIGRATION

In the first place there seems to be a fairly close connection between the ratio of children and the percentage of the foreign born who are of the new immigration. There are some exceptions, of course, but they can be rather readily explained. We have already referred to the situation in Hamtramck with its large Polish population. The Poles are among our most prolific immigrants, and if we could pick out other communities similar to Hamtramck in composition, there is every reason to believe that they, too, would have very high ratios of children among the foreign born. East Chicago, Ind., Gary, Ind., and Bethlehem, Pa., approach Hamtramck in this respect, but have larger proportions of other immigrant groups. But in all these high-ratio cities, the foreign born are largely engaged in manufacturing of a heavy type and their women do not work outside the home. (See column M, Table 29.)

It is interesting to compare the low-ratio cities having a high percentage of new immigrants among their foreign born with these high-ratio cities. Macon, Ga., Tulsa, Okla., Huntington, W. Va., Miami, Fla., and Lexington, Ky., all have over 40 per cent of their foreign born belonging to the new immigration but have very low ratios of children. They are all southern or near-southern cities with very small percentages of foreign born in their populations. The difference between them and the high-ratio cities appears to be in the type of immigrant. In these southern cities, the Jews constitute a large proportion of the few foreign born. They are not engaged in manufacturing but in trade. They belong to the more comfortable economic classes and apparently exercise considerable voluntary control over the size of their families. Thus we find that the type of immigrant and his social status has much influence in determining the ratio of children to women, even among the foreign born.

It is also very interesting to note again that several of the California cities are at the bottom of the list. The foreign born in California do not seem to be much more given to raising large families than the natives and the explanation given for the southern cities will not apply here since the proportion of new immigrants in California cities is rather small. One is almost forced to conclude that, however salubrious the climate of California is to the individual, it is not so healthy for the race. Perhaps it is the selective influence of the climate as we have already suggested.

TABLE 30.—PER CENT OF MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY NATIVITY, FOR 40 SELECTED CITIES OF 25,000 TO 100,000 INHABITANTS RANKED ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE: 1920 [1]

[Per cents not given where base is less than 100]

CITY	PER CENT MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED			
	Native white women 20 to 44 years of age			Foreign-born white women 20 to 44 years of age
	Total	Native parentage	Foreign or mixed parentage	
HIGHEST RATIO OF CHILDREN				
Hamtramck, Mich	85.2	86.8	84.9	96.6
Ogden, Utah	79.4	79.1	79.8	86.4
Bay City, Mich	71.4	76.1	68.9	85.2
Johnstown, Pa	69.6	70.9	66.3	95.2
Winston-Salem, N. C	71.4	71.3	74.1	----------
Roanoke, Va	75.9	76.2	66.0	87.4
Pensacola, Fla	81.5	82.1	78.2	79.5
Clarksburg, W. Va	77.6	78.3	69.9	90.9
Hagerstown, Md	76.1	76.1	75.8	----------
Charlotte, N. C	72.7	72.7	73.5	87.2
Port Huron, Mich	75.7	76.8	74.8	86.1
Huntington, W. Va	78.9	79.1	73.3	81.9
Kokomo, Ind	84.6	85.4	75.7	85.6
Portsmouth, Ohio	76.2	77.1	69.1	----------
Hazleton, Pa	61.6	61.2	62.0	94.5
Wilmington, N. C	75.2	75.7	65.0	87.5
Portsmouth, Va	79.7	80.3	71.4	92.9
Bethlehem, Pa	74.5	77.6	62.8	91.6
Gary, Ind	83.7	84.3	82.6	96.0
East Chicago, Ind	80.9	83.6	78.2	96.4
LOWEST RATIO OF CHILDREN				
Bangor, Me	61.8	64.6	54.0	76.1
Kingston, N. Y	58.3	59.3	55.9	87.6
Atlantic City, N. J	69.9	70.6	68.1	81.6
Fresno, Calif	76.9	78.6	72.5	89.1
Sacramento, Calif	76.9	78.1	74.9	88.1
Lawrence, Mass	51.1	57.8	48.9	82.7
Utica, N. Y	62.5	64.4	60.0	86.8
East Orange, N. J	66.8	67.2	65.9	70.2
Colorado Springs, Colo	67.2	69.1	60.9	76.1
San Jose, Calif	68.5	69.9	66.8	87.2
Berkeley, Calif	64.2	64.2	64.1	79.0
Auburn, N. Y	64.7	67.4	60.9	89.7
Waltham, Mass	47.9	51.6	44.7	73.1
Amsterdam, N. Y	61.8	65.2	57.5	85.1
San Diego, Calif	74.3	75.2	72.3	82.9
Long Beach, Calif	74.9	75.2	73.8	81.2
Troy, N. Y	52.4	54.4	50.3	79.4
Pasadena, Calif	63.9	64.8	61.5	60.0
Elgin, Ill	60.2	58.9	61.5	78.0
Brookline, Mass	51.3	55.9	45.3	34.5

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[1] Compiled from Detailed Table II.

We have already called attention to the fact that the percentage of the foreign-born women who are married is greatest where the ratios of children are greatest and that it diminishes as the ratio declines. It is also worth noting that there is some tendency for the percentage of women 20 to 34 to decline as the ratio of children declines; but this is not as clearly marked a tendency as in the case of married women. It does, however, call attention again to the fact that the fertility of women varies with their age.

In the relation between employment and ratio of children the foreign-born women show the same tendencies as the native women—the greater the number employed the lower the ratio of children. But this tendency is not very marked and we must conclude that although it is important it is not as important as one would be likely to think. Other factors seem to overshadow it in determining the ratio of children to foreign-born women.

In general one seems justified in observing that the differences in ratios of children between native and foreign-born women and between foreign-born women in different localities rests to quite an appreciable degree upon the extent to which the knowledge of the methods of conception control is spread in a community. All the other factors of which we have taken account fail at some point to offer a clear explanation of the facts, but if studied in the light of what is quite commonly known regarding the practice of conception control in different communities and in different nativity groups the whole situation becomes more comprehensible. We must recognize, of course, that even if knowledge of the methods of conception control were universal there would still be considerable differences in ratios of children between different groups in our population. We shall try in later chapters to point out some of the reasons why these differences exist even where equal knowledge may be fairly assumed.

HEREDITY AND THE BIRTH RATE

At several points in this and preceding chapters we have found data that suggested the possibility of selective influences at work in the determination of the birth rate of certain groups through their effects upon the heredity of the group. It seems inherently probable that heredity does determine to some extent the strength of the natural urge to reproduction. There are, however, such a variety of forces at work molding people's attitudes toward reproduction, as toward all other social relations, that we can not be certain that the selective process sorts people according to their hereditary inclinations regarding reproduction. We can scarcely suppose, however, that these hereditary inclinations are without any influence. It may well be, though, that hereditary inclinations of this kind, if they do exist, are quite negligible in their influence on conduct, on account of the repressive effect of environment or on account of the lack of any positively encouraging aspects of environment. If we could be at all certain that the natural inclination to reproduction was adequately measured in different people by the size of their families, it might greatly modify our attitude toward the differential birth rate in different classes of our population. But we are forced to conclude, in studying the actual situation, that there is no *natural* working out of hereditary inclinations apparent in our present birth rate. Social conditions rather than hereditary inclinations determine the greater part of the differentials we have been studying thus far.

SUMMARY

To sum up our findings with regard to these smaller cities, we may say that they are much like the larger cities in the operation of the measurable factors influencing the ratio of children to women. At no point do any directly opposed tendencies appear in the two groups. The distinctive features of modern urbanism which first become manifest in the larger cities soon penetrate into these smaller places, at least as regards those attitudes of mind affecting the raising of children.

We have seen that some cities differ greatly from the others, but we have generally found a more or less satisfactory explanation of these differences in the particular circumstances existing in different localities which have impeded or abetted the spread of conditions favorable or unfavorable to the raising of children. In other words, the differences between cities appear to be based largely upon the degree of pressure felt by those raising children and the extent of their knowledge of methods of conception control. Some people feel the burden of children much more keenly than others; although this feeling of the burdensomeness of children, no doubt, is itself largely a measure of the extent to which the inclination to self-development in the individual has been encouraged at the expense of the inclination to reproduction. It seems evident that our present urban life tends to smother the inclination to reproduction under the avalanche of the individual's desires for pleasure and self-development. The modern city apparently furnishes abundant incitement to people to develop their personal qualities, particularly those that are immediately useful in attaining a desired status, and to work hard to satisfy all kinds of personal desires, but it furnishes little incentive to taking long time views or to the development of inclinations not of immediate use.

V

RATIOS OF CHILDREN TO WOMEN IN THE RURAL POPULATIONS OF THE STATES

The ratios of children in Table 31, column C, are for the native white women in the rural population. The first thing to attract attention is that they are considerably higher than those for the cities with which we have been dealing in the two preceding chapters. Detailed comparisons dealing with city and rural groups are discussed in Chapter VI; here attention is confined to the differences shown in the rural population of the States and to the factors that seem to account more or less fully for these differences.

The range of the ratios in the native rural population is fairly large, from 436 in Rhode Island to 1,012 in Utah, but not as large as in the cities. There is a little more homogeneity in the native white rural population in respect to the ratio of children than in the native white city population, although with this range, equal to one and one-third times the lower limit, and the general character of the distribution,[1] it can scarcely be said that this homogeneity in the native white rural population is very marked.

If Table 31 is compared with Table 20 in Chapter III it will be seen that, whereas the New England States in general have very low ratios of children in the native white rural population, several of the New England cities stand relatively high among cities in this respect. In absolute numbers, however, they are much lower than the rural districts by which they are surrounded. In contrast with New England cities, California cities keep the California rural districts company near the bottom of their respective lists. In the South most of the larger cities stand not far from the median in ratios of children, but the rural districts stand near the top. In the Middle West both cities and rural districts occupy a middle position in their ratios. It is in the South, therefore, that we find the greatest contrast in ratios of children to native white women between the cities and the rural districts.

RURALITY OF THE POPULATION

Of the factors of which we have been able to take account here, the rurality of the State as measured by the per cent of the total population that is rural appears to be most closely related to the

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[1] There are 6 States with ratios under 500; 4 with ratios of 500 to 599; 16 with ratios of 600 to 699; 7 with ratios of 700 to 799; 12 with ratios of 800 to 899; and 3 with ratios of over 900.

TABLE 31.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY NATIVITY AND MARITAL CONDITION, WITH PER CENTS AND RATIOS FOR CERTAIN OTHER FACTORS, FOR THE RURAL POPULATION, BY STATES: 1920 [1]

STATE	RURAL POPULATION											
	Per cent of total population	Males to 100 females in white rural population	Children under 5 per 1,000 women 20 to 44 years of age				Per cent of white women 20 to 44 years of age who are married, widowed, or divorced		Per cent of white population on farms		Per cent of whites who are tenants on farms	
			Native white		Foreign-born white		Native white	Foreign-born white	Native white	Foreign-born white	Native white	Foreign-born white
			All women	Married, widowed, or divorced women	All women	Married, widowed, or divorced women						
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
NEW ENGLAND:												
Maine	61.0	107.6	603	762	811	924	79.1	87.7	43.7	29.3	4.1	4.6
New Hampshire	36.9	107.9	517	677	798	894	76.4	89.3	47.7	37.9	6.7	6.8
Vermont	68.8	107.1	587	749	906	1,014	78.3	89.4	52.2	47.1	12.1	8.7
Massachusetts	5.2	100.5	461	683	827	965	67.5	85.7	57.1	68.6	7.0	7.6
Rhode Island	2.5	106.9	436	613	856	964	71.1	88.8	97.6	119.8	14.4	19.0
Connecticut	32.2	101.4	442	663	910	1,036	66.6	87.8	21.6	19.3	9.1	7.0
MIDDLE ATLANTIC:												
New York	17.3	105.1	494	656	837	963	75.3	86.9	46.0	35.5	19.7	16.0
New Jersey	21.6	106.2	480	647	896	994	74.2	90.2	21.8	17.6	25.4	13.1
Pennsylvania	35.7	107.2	671	882	1,336	1,423	76.0	93.9	33.5	10.2	22.3	16.0
EAST NORTH CENTRAL:												
Ohio	36.2	107.1	633	793	1,067	1,129	79.8	94.5	56.2	34.9	30.1	18.4
Indiana	49.4	105.3	622	768	847	937	80.9	90.4	63.1	50.8	32.4	18.2
Illinois	32.1	108.6	618	791	879	956	78.1	92.0	54.6	33.9	43.1	38.7
Michigan	38.9	110.2	668	819	1,020	1,090	81.6	93.5	60.4	54.8	20.3	9.7
Wisconsin	52.7	112.0	679	915	1,002	1,084	74.3	92.4	67.1	63.0	17.3	7.3
WEST NORTH CENTRAL:												
Minnesota	55.9	115.3	687	981	1,048	1,146	70.0	91.5	68.3	63.7	31.4	13.7
Iowa	63.6	108.3	641	829	926	1,017	77.4	91.1	65.2	57.8	43.1	34.0
Missouri	53.4	106.6	685	840	738	831	81.6	88.8	67.5	54.1	29.3	11.1
North Dakota	86.4	114.5	788	1,045	1,269	1,390	75.4	91.3	70.3	71.8	31.3	19.5
South Dakota	84.0	115.1	727	941	1,048	1,155	77.3	90.7	68.0	67.2	39.1	26.1
Nebraska	68.7	110.2	677	868	916	1,004	78.0	91.3	66.0	62.1	46.7	28.0
Kansas	65.1	109.8	663	828	912	996	80.1	91.5	65.1	55.4	42.6	21.5

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[1] Column A, Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. I, p. 47; column B, Vol. III, Table 1 for each State; columns C, D, E, F, Detailed Table I; columns G and H, Detailed Table II; columns I and J, calculated from Census Monograph VI, Farm Population in the United States, 1920, p. 238; columns K and L, Vol. V, Agriculture, 1920, pp. 303 and 173.

TABLE 31.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY NATIVITY AND MARITAL CONDITION, WITH PER CENTS AND RATIOS FOR CERTAIN OTHER FACTORS, FOR THE RURAL POPULATION, BY STATES: 1920—Continued

STATE	RURAL POPULATION											
	Per cent of total population	Males to 100 females in white rural population	Children under 5 per 1,000 women 20 to 44 years of age				Per cent of white women 20 to 44 years of age who are married, widowed, or divorced		Per cent of white population on farms		Per cent of whites who are tenants on farms	
			Native white		Foreign-born white							
			All women	Married, widowed, or divorced women	All women	Married, widowed, or divorced women	Native white	Foreign-born white	Native white	Foreign-born white	Native white	Foreign-born white
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
SOUTH ATLANTIC:												
Delaware	45.8	104.6	571	704	893	1,031	81.1	86.6	50.2	38.4	38.7	9.9
Maryland	40.0	106.9	649	841	771	886	77.2	87.0	47.5	30.3	27.8	11.0
Virginia	70.8	106.1	809	1,036	837	923	78.1	90.7	65.7	38.5	22.6	7.8
West Virginia	74.8	110.8	915	1,103	1,393	1,427	83.0	97.6	47.8	39.4	16.0	29.8
North Carolina	80.8	102.7	910	1,149	655	867	79.2	75.6	70.7	31.4	32.9	14.0
South Carolina	82.5	105.0	872	1,087	741	851	80.3	87.1	67.9	16.4	45.6	22.0
Georgia	74.9	104.5	869	1,057	555	660	82.2	84.1	75.3	22.3	51.6	20.4
Florida	63.3	108.6	754	888	553	664	84.9	83.3	48.5	34.3	18.1	5.0
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL:												
Kentucky	73.8	106.8	854	1,019	971	1,103	83.8	88.0	74.8	28.9	32.3	14.2
Tennessee	73.9	103.8	816	994	802	887	82.0	90.4	74.0	41.5	35.3	20.5
Alabama	78.3	103.6	894	1,075	885	957	83.2	92.5	72.5	36.7	44.0	10.1
Mississippi	86.6	104.4	813	998	1,035	1,124	81.4	92.1	77.0	44.2	37.9	35.3
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL:												
Arkansas	83.4	107.5	888	1,016	900	1,022	87.5	88.1	76.6	58.9	39.2	15.1
Louisiana	65.1	106.5	853	1,031	1,191	1,285	82.8	92.7	64.6	47.4	36.1	33.0
Oklahoma	73.4	111.0	853	962	939	1,001	88.7	93.8	67.8	51.9	52.2	20.4
Texas	67.6	110.3	760	910	911	1,031	83.5	88.4	71.5	59.5	49.5	51.1
MOUNTAIN:												
Montana	68.7	125.7	733	861	999	1,064	85.1	93.9	60.8	55.3	12.2	9.1
Idaho	72.4	122.6	824	948	961	1,027	87.0	93.5	65.3	52.8	16.7	10.8
Wyoming	70.5	132.6	670	777	980	1,028	86.3	95.3	51.8	33.3	12.2	13.0
Colorado	51.8	117.9	715	836	1,084	1,144	85.5	94.7	56.5	42.5	22.6	22.8
New Mexico	82.0	112.8	836	988	931	1,015	84.7	91.7	57.9	22.9	11.2	31.6
Arizona	64.8	127.6	710	819	900	978	86.7	92.0	40.5	27.9	18.3	19.0
Utah	52.0	111.6	1,012	1,203	1,104	1,169	84.1	94.4	62.8	39.5	10.9	7.4
Nevada	80.3	158.7	498	586	785	829	84.9	94.7	26.1	22.8	9.7	9.8
PACIFIC:												
Washington	44.8	125.7	628	745	774	828	84.3	93.5	47.2	43.9	20.7	11.8
Oregon	50.1	122.0	619	730	757	817	84.8	92.7	54.9	52.0	20.0	12.1
California	32.0	129.0	501	612	806	878	81.9	91.8	46.1	45.4	16.6	21.1

ratio of children in the native rural population. This was to be expected. It has been apparent from the outset of this study that urban living has a very depressing effect upon the birth rate. It would naturally be assumed in consequence that in proportion as the influence of urban living becomes greater and more pervasive, the ratio of children would show a decline. When we find, then, a fairly high degree of correspondence between the rurality of the State and the ratio of children in the native rural population, it would seem that we are justified in saying that the expectation has been fulfilled. We are also justified in concluding that the influence of the urban communities in a State does not stop at the cities' boundaries. Where a large part of the population of a State is rural, there the attitudes of mind and habits of life of the entire population tend to be those distinctive of rural dwellers; but where a large part of the population is urban, the attitudes of mind and habits of life characteristic of urban dwellers tend to permeate the entire community, at least as regards births. Even the rural population of a highly urbanized State has a lower ratio of children than in a more rural State.

This important influence of rurality on the ratio of children is quite obvious if we make a detailed comparison of columns A and C in Table 31. High ratios are found in those States where the rural population has little contact with urban life, the Dakotas, West Virginia, and the Southern States as a whole. How slight is the urban influence in these States is also shown by the per cent of their gainfully employed who are engaged in manufacturing as compared with the industrial States of the North. (Table 32.)

TABLE 32.—PER CENT OF THE GAINFULLY EMPLOYED WHO ARE ENGAGED IN MANUFACTURING, IN CERTAIN SOUTHERN STATES AND IN CERTAIN INDUSTRIAL STATES IN THE NORTH: 1920 [1]

STATE	Per cent	STATE	Per cent
RURAL STATES		RURAL STATES—continued	
Virginia	23.5	Texas	15.6
West Virginia	23.8	North Dakota	9.3
North Carolina	23.6		
South Carolina	16.2	INDUSTRIAL STATES	
Georgia	16.1		
Florida	26.1	Massachusetts	51.4
Kentucky	17.3	Rhode Island	58.9
Tennessee	18.2	Connecticut	53.9
Alabama	16.6	New York	39.0
Mississippi	10.4	New Jersey	48.0
Arkansas	12.0	Pennsylvania	41.6
Louisiana	20.4	Ohio	41.7
Oklahoma	15.4		

[1] Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. IV, p. 50.

In this table we see that no Southern State (not counting Delaware and Maryland as Southern States), except Florida, has as many as 25 per cent of its gainfully employed working at manufacturing. The average is only about 17 or 18 per cent, which is from a third to a half as many as in the Northern industrial States. When it is remembered that in addition to manufacturing, commerce and its adjuncts also occupy proportionally a great many more people in the North, we can readily see that our measure of rurality rather understates than overstates the differences between the agricultural and the industrial-commercial States in this respect, at least, as regards the native population. Furthermore, the small cities in the South and the farming West are much more rural in outlook than those in the Northeast. They even look quite different and show clearly in their outward aspect that they are organized around a different set of interests. There can be little doubt that they radiate quite a different influence.

On the other hand, one only needs to wander through southern New England, New York, and New Jersey to be impressed with the omnipresence of cities and of nonagricultural industries and with the inevitableness with which rural people come in contact with city life at many points. The same is true in nearly all sections of the Pacific coast where practically every one is urbanized by the climate, good roads, and the specialty types of farming prevailing there. The "rancher" of California is not a real farmer. He generally belongs to the town as much as he does to the country and tends to develop urban attitudes of mind on most matters of vital concern. Urbanism is very nearly all-pervasive on the Pacific coast.

Urban influence is, of course, on the increase in all parts of the country, but it certainly is far less pervasive in the States where farming is the chief interest of the people than in those where farming is only incidental to industry and commerce. Unquestionably one of the important differences between urban and rural people and between rural people in different parts of the country is in the extent of the knowledge of conception control they possess. In the very nature of things people who live in cities and come into close contact with one another daily will learn of new things more rapidly than people who have few contacts with their fellows. Such being the case the less the influence of cities on the lives of people in general the slower would be the spread of contraception and the larger the number of children. It should be made clear in this connection, that we do not believe that the difference between rural and urban communities in the extent of their knowledge of contraceptive methods is the only reason for their differences in ratios of children but we do believe that it is an important reason.

Among the foreign born the ratio of children to women does not show the same close, clear relation to rurality that it does among the natives. Indeed, there are many cases that seem to deny any such relationship. Thus Ohio, having practically the same per cent of rural population as Pennsylvania, is slightly over 20 per cent below it in ratio of children to foreign-born women, but it, in turn, exceeds its neighbor on the west by about the same amount, although having a considerably smaller proportion of its population rural. Again there are rather large differences in ratio of children between Iowa and Minnesota, the latter exceeding the former by about 13 per cent, but having a smaller per cent of rural population. Nevada is also a conspicuous exception, having a very high proportion of rural population but a very low ratio of children to foreign-born women. On the whole, then, inspection does not reveal any very close relation between rurality and ratio of children among the foreign born.

Why is it that in the matter of birth rate the rural foreign born seem to be less influenced by their rurality than the natives? For natives, rurality is conceded to be a strong retarding factor in the actual spread of birth control practices, whether because of the difficulty of getting the knowledge, or because of the desire for, or at least the indifference to, large families. But the measure of rurality is entirely inadequate for the foreign born. The rurality (rural mindedness) of the foreign born is a more subtle quality than can be measured by the per cent of them living in the rural districts. It is an all-pervasive attitude toward life and is a product of their past history rather than of their present circumstances and place of residence. In order to get a measure for the foreign born of equal significance with rurality for the natives we should probably have to introduce some measure for the type of community the foreign born lived in abroad, and the occupation followed. Another way of expressing this idea is to say that the smaller variability among the foreign born in ratio of children is in itself an expression of their greater essential homogeneity.

Before leaving this matter of the rurality of the natives and the foreign born, it may be well to emphasize again that any measure of rurality is in itself quite inadequate to tell the whole story for either natives or foreign born. Certain important points must always be taken into consideration. For example, there can be no doubt that rural people marry earlier and more generally than urban people. It is also true that rural people in some parts of the country marry earlier and more generally than in other parts, but no wholly satisfactory measure of these differences can be found. Consequently earlier marriage which is associated with rurality is not taken account of. Rurality, then, is not a simple factor, separable from others, standing for some precise condition. It needs to be split up into its elements. Unfortunately this can not be done very satisfactorily at present.

Still another possiblity that should be mentioned is that of selective processes at work in sorting people into different rural communities.

Part of the influence we are attributing to rurality may be due to selective processes of westward migration by which the less prolific, hereditarily, are found in the rural districts of the older and now more highly urbanized States. It seems rather improbable, however, that the selection operating in westward migration can account for more than a very small part of the actual differences between rural communities. The more probable selective processes at work would seem to be those operating as between country and city, leaving the more prolific in the country. More will be said on this point in the following chapter.

PROPORTION OF WOMEN MARRIED

In the native rural population, as a whole, there appears to be a slight tendency for the ratio of children to increase as the proportion of married women increases. It is not a very marked tendency, but certainly the proportion of married women in the Northeastern States is appreciably lower than in Southern and Mountain States. The Middle Western States stand between these two groups in both ratios of children and percentages of married women. In fact only the States that are very much out of line are Nevada and the Pacific Coast States which have low ratios of children with high percentages of married women. Here as elsewhere the ratio of children on the west coast seems to demand a special explanation.

Among the foreign-born rural population it appears that the same tendency is present as among the natives. In the Northeast where the ratio of children is rather low the percentages of married women are also low; in the Middle West where the ratio of children is higher the percentage of married women is higher; and on the west coast the ratio of children is low while the percentage of married women is high. In most parts of the South the numbers of foreign born in rural communities are too small to make the results significant.

It is interesting to note in this connection that in rural communities, particularly among the natives, the percentage of women married is much higher than in urban communities. This, of course, results in a greater degree of likeness between the ratios of children to *all* women and to *married* women than we find in the cities. Since a greater proportion of women 20 to 44 who are married means, in general, earlier marriages it seems safe to assume that there are considerable differences between different parts of the country in the age at which rural women marry. This fact will help to account for some of the differences in ratios because the period under 30 is by far the most fecund part of a woman's life. There can be no doubt that the same conditions which retard the spread of knowledge of contraception make for early marriages and thus tend to keep the proportion of married women high. The fact that these two variables seem to move together can probably be explained by the same underlying conditions. It would appear to be a perfectly natural condition that this should be so, for the raising of children being one of the chief purposes of marriage we would expect that the latter would be more general where children were more desired. Where conditions of life are such that but few children are wanted fewer marriages would take place. Of course, it may well happen that in the future marriage will be less closely associated with the raising of a family and then we may expect to find the relationship between these two factors less close and direct. Indeed just the reverse relation might come to be the usual one, namely, that where the knowledge of birth control is widespread there would be earlier and more numerous marriages.

SEX RATIO

In order to see whether there was any relation between ratio of children and masculinity in the population the former was compared with the number of males per 100 females in the rural popuation.[2] If we study the relations of these two factors in the native rural populations of the States we find no such constant relation as Mr. Brunner found. The lowest ratios of children are in the New England States and here are also found the fewest males, although there are more males than females in the rural population in all of the States. But the next lowest ratios of males are found in the Southern States where the ratios of children are highest. In the Middle States the ratio of males is quite high but the ratio of children is not nearly as high as in the Southern States. But the real surprise is again in the far West where the ratios of males are very high and the ratios of children very low, almost as low as in New England. Certainly Mr. Brunner's findings will not apply to our native rural population. It appears that other factors are far more important in determining the ratio of children in the rural population than the ratio of males. When urban and rural are compared it may well be that an excess of males makes for earlier marriage in the country and thus renders larger families probable but this is not the case as between States.

Among the foreign born there does not appear to be any closer relation between the ratios of children and of males than among the natives. The foreign-born women are always considerably in the minority and this may in part account for the large percentages of them married (Table 31, column H). This is in line with Mr. Brunner's observations, but it seems likely that custom and tradition have more to do with their early marriage than the excess of males in the population seeking wives.

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[2] The making of this comparison was suggested in reading an article by C. T. Brunner, Local Variations in the Birth Rate, Economic Journal, March 1925, pp. 60–65. To quote: "It is here suggested that the age of marriage of women largely depends on the keenness of the competition for them. The underlying assumption made is that most women wish to get married. Where the number of men exceeds the number of women, it is expected that the competition among men for wives will be keen, and the average age of marriage for the women will tend to be low. Where, on the other hand, the number of women exceeds the number of men, the competition for wives will be less acute, and men will tend to postpone marriage.

"We thus arrive at a kind of law of supply and demand by which the average age of marriage of women is determined. Where the proportion of women to men is high, their average age of marriage is also high, and conversely, where the proportion of women to men is low, their average age of marriage is low."

It is well to note that the ratio of males to females is largely determined by the occupations dominant in different localities, by the industrial character of the district, as Mr. Brunner says, or by the stage of development attained by a community so that the sex ratio in so far as it is a factor in the birth rate is only one link in a chain of causes which trace back to the nature of the industry and the stage of its development in different communities. It may be then, that farming and mining which particularly call for male labor tend to keep the birth rate high partly because of the fact that people following these occupations marry young. (We shall have more to say regarding mining and the ratio of children in Chapter VII.) In any event, sex ratio is apparently only a secondary factor and arises out of other conditions more basic in their effects on the birth rate.

RURAL POPULATION ON FARMS

Table 33 shows that the ratio of children for the total farm population is considerably higher than for the village population. It seems likely then that if a larger proportion of the native white rural population lived on farms, the ratio of children might be higher. When columns C and I in Table 31 are compared there appears to be some relation between the ratio of children and the per cent of native rural whites on farms. The highest ratios and the highest per cents are found in the Southern States; the next highest are found in the Middle Western States; and the lowest in the Northeast and the far West. This seems to indicate that living on farms which, of course, represents the greatest degree of rurality, is conducive to the raising of larger families than living in any other type of community. If the reasons given above for the relation between greater rurality and higher ratios of children are sound then we would expect that the farm population proper would have the highest ratio of children. This is quite clearly the case at the present time.

This relation between ratio of children and per cent of rural population on farms holds for the native population only. Among the foreign born there seems to be no appreciable connection between these two series of facts. Some of the States with very high ratios of children (for example Pennsylvania and West Virginia) have low percentages of the foreign born on farms while others with rather low ratios of children have large percentages of their rural foreign born on farms. Thus once again we find that rurality, as we have measured it, does not appear to be as important a factor in determining the ratio of children to foreign-born women as to native women.

TABLE 33.—WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE; CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OF AGE; AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER 1,000 WOMEN IN THE FARM, VILLAGE, AND URBAN POPULATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, BY DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1920 [1]

DIVISION AND STATE	WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE			CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OF AGE			CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE		
	Farm	Village	Urban	Farm	Village	Urban	Farm	Village	Urban
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
UNITED STATES [2]	4, 969, 744	3, 524, 274	11, 505, 560	4, 003, 330	2, 317, 445	5, 252, 455	806	658	457
NEW ENGLAND	91, 964	177, 327	1, 188, 614	57, 325	104, 652	591, 053	623	590	497
Maine	28, 363	48, 267	58, 319	18, 641	29, 723	26, 776	657	616	459
New Hampshire	10, 930	16, 455	53, 121	6, 061	9, 359	25, 971	555	569	489
Vermont	18, 619	19, 903	21, 768	12, 353	11, 907	10, 284	663	598	472
Massachusetts	17, 685	24, 131	747, 083	10, 366	13, 157	362, 238	586	545	485
Rhode Island	2, 193	1, 767	117, 395	1, 233	898	60, 225	562	508	513
Connecticut	14, 174	66, 804	190, 928	8, 671	39, 608	105, 559	612	593	553
MIDDLE ATLANTIC	289, 395	643, 727	3, 504, 029	184, 734	446, 783	1, 722, 934	638	694	492
New York	124, 924	180, 552	1, 867, 684	71, 985	94, 025	844, 280	576	521	452
New Jersey	22, 495	100, 723	509, 395	13, 311	57, 790	267, 595	592	574	525
Pennsylvania	141, 976	362, 452	1, 126, 950	99, 438	294, 968	611, 059	700	814	542
EAST NORTH CENTRAL	784, 794	595, 934	2, 725, 584	547, 335	374, 421	1, 298, 276	697	628	476
Ohio	181, 101	158, 580	768, 524	119, 584	104, 194	362, 358	660	657	471
Indiana	148, 683	92, 295	303, 169	96, 356	54, 322	138, 517	648	589	457
Illinois	185, 899	167, 620	943, 054	124, 485	100, 351	430, 237	670	599	456
Michigan	126, 425	96, 280	457, 757	95, 628	65, 351	243, 607	756	679	532
Wisconsin	142, 686	81, 159	253, 080	111, 282	50, 203	123, 557	780	619	488
WEST NORTH CENTRAL	837, 192	466, 236	1, 019, 604	653, 295	273, 146	414, 971	780	586	407
Minnesota	136, 492	76, 944	228, 036	110, 511	48, 465	102, 418	810	630	449
Iowa	169, 357	95, 544	180, 509	123, 909	50, 914	76, 064	732	533	421
Missouri	192, 727	105, 716	357, 477	140, 476	63, 373	124, 060	729	599	347
North Dakota	59, 032	29, 736	19, 134	59, 886	21, 410	9, 593	1, 014	720	501
South Dakota	58, 976	31, 330	21, 499	51, 066	18, 780	9, 985	866	599	464
Nebraska	98, 213	55, 278	85, 258	77, 488	29, 363	36, 389	789	531	427
Kansas	122, 395	71, 688	127, 691	89, 959	40, 841	56, 462	735	570	442
SOUTH ATLANTIC	981, 159	587, 242	860, 639	893, 794	428, 072	377, 067	911	729	438
Delaware	8, 170	9, 231	24, 614	5, 640	4, 788	12, 501	690	519	508
Maryland	42, 675	52, 550	185, 919	31, 697	33, 033	82, 275	743	629	443
Virginia	159, 518	101, 426	150, 988	137, 487	76, 301	63, 396	862	752	420
West Virginia	67, 470	104, 528	76, 263	60, 697	96, 242	38, 995	900	921	511
North Carolina	226, 678	104, 435	106, 969	223, 722	81, 367	53, 719	987	779	502
South Carolina	170, 144	60, 643	66, 679	158, 593	40, 791	29, 197	932	673	438
Georgia	263, 974	92, 688	169, 954	240, 876	57, 447	64, 906	912	620	382
Florida	42, 530	61, 741	79, 253	35, 082	38, 103	32, 078	825	617	405
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL	820, 989	319, 650	449, 128	695, 324	217, 457	175, 353	847	680	390
Kentucky	200, 981	85, 152	137, 986	175, 258	63, 601	52, 766	872	747	382
Tennessee	200, 905	83, 690	140, 671	169, 095	58, 342	53, 302	842	697	379
Alabama	207, 963	95, 093	115, 781	187, 340	63, 668	48, 514	901	670	419
Mississippi	211, 140	55, 715	54, 690	163, 631	31, 846	20, 771	775	572	380
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL	822, 740	378, 132	652, 227	703, 568	244, 302	268, 639	855	646	412
Arkansas	181, 995	59, 357	64, 072	156, 322	38, 077	26, 412	859	641	412
Louisiana	124, 460	73, 287	139, 788	107, 204	47, 396	54, 613	861	647	391
Oklahoma	152, 150	83, 787	116, 109	141, 839	59, 046	51, 693	932	705	445
Texas	364, 135	161, 701	332, 258	298, 203	99, 783	135, 921	819	617	409
MOUNTAIN	181, 640	167, 096	247, 419	161, 774	120, 294	114, 746	891	720	464
Montana	36, 520	27, 553	36, 546	31, 885	18, 629	16, 858	873	676	461
Idaho	30, 898	19, 856	22, 790	28, 307	14, 109	12, 120	916	711	532
Wyoming	11, 013	12, 752	11, 928	8, 813	8, 082	5, 629	800	634	472
Colorado	42, 409	37, 947	94, 819	35, 357	26, 041	35, 660	834	686	376
New Mexico	24, 299	22, 990	13, 137	21, 925	17, 846	6, 628	902	776	505
Arizona	14, 034	21, 657	24, 829	12, 610	15, 678	12, 519	899	724	504
Utah	20, 119	16, 518	40, 168	21, 133	15, 982	24, 260	1, 050	968	604
Nevada	2, 348	7, 823	3, 202	1, 744	3, 927	1, 072	742	502	335
PACIFIC	159, 762	188, 930	741, 807	106, 141	108, 318	259, 020	664	573	349
Washington	43, 362	55, 092	158, 334	30, 412	34, 635	61, 387	701	629	388
Oregon	33, 643	30, 686	83, 896	22, 421	18, 368	30, 529	666	599	364
California	82, 757	103, 152	499, 577	53, 308	55, 315	167, 104	644	536	334

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[1] Truesdell, Leon E., Farm Population of the United States, 1920, Census Monograph VI, pp. 186–215.

[2] District of Columbia included. Not shown separately.

FARM TENANCY

It has been quite widely assumed that farm tenants have more children than farm owners. In order to see if we could get any light on this matter we used the per cent of farmers, both native and foreign born, who were tenants as one of the variables in our problem. If we examine the data in Table 31, columns C and K we see that in the Northeast and the far West where the ratios of children are lowest the percentages of tenancy are low. In the South where the ratios of children are highest the percentages of tenancy are quite high, but not as high as in the Middle West where the ratios of children are only moderately high. This applies to the white population only. Thus though there appears to be some relation between these two factors in the native population, it seems quite doubtful whether much emphasis should be placed upon it.

Here again, as so often, when the foreign born are considered there does not appear to be any appreciable connection between the particular social condition examined and the ratio of children. This is readily understandable if our assumption of the essential rurality of practically all the foreign born is sound.

VILLAGE POPULATION

By way of summary it may be interesting to examine Table 33 a little more carefully. In comparing the States with regard to ratios of children in the farm and village populations, we find much the same differences in the ratios of children as in the native white rural population in Table 31. The highest ratios of children in the farm population are found in Utah and North Dakota, although when the States are considered by groups the Southern States stand at the top. The Southern States are followed rather closely by the Mountain States and these by the Middle West while the Northeast and the far West have the lowest ratios. Practically the same order prevails in the village population; and in all but three States—New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia—the ratio of children is considerably lower here than on the farms. Indeed, the ratio of children on the farms of the United States averages almost one-fourth greater than in the villages. This is a significant fact and is just exactly what we would expect if it is the degree of rurality that is the chief determinant of the ratio of children at the present time. Certainly no one can seriously doubt that the ratios of children in the rural population would be distributed about as they actually are between the States and between the villages and the farm population if one were to do this on the basis of the degree of urban influence present in different sections of the country and in different classes of the population.

As has been contended elsewhere it seems that one of the chief factors in determining the outlook on life of the rural population is that it is isolated from many of the influences of the city making for a low birth rate and that it does not have as much contraceptive information as the city population. But, obviously, there are considerable differences between rural communities in this respect. Utah with a ratio of 1,050 children on the farms has almost twice the ratio of New Hampshire with 555, and the Pacific States with 664 are far behind the South Atlantic States with 911. There is certainly no evidence that such differences are due to any inherent differences, in the fecundity of these populations. They must be accounted for on the basis of the differences in the social conditions surrounding the rural people in these different localities. The chief differences, we find, are in the extent to which the rural community remains isolated and in the factors which make the raising of children less arduous in the country than in the city. We shall go into this matter in more detail in the following chapter.

VI

RATIOS OF CHILDREN TO WOMEN IN CITIES AND RURAL DISTRICTS

The data regarding the ratio of children to women for smaller cities (2,500 to 10,000 and 10,000 to 25,000) and for rural districts are available by States only. Hence, many local differences can not be ascertained. There is good reason to believe, however, that even though it is necessary to present the data for all the smaller places in the States in groups it will still be possible to get at the essential facts regarding their ratios of children to women.

NATIVE WHITE WOMEN IN COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES

In Table 34 the ratios of children to all native white women 20 to 44 years of age are given for the United States, its divisions, and the States, by size of community.

The most striking fact in this table is the steady increase in these ratios as the size of the community diminishes. Using the ratios for the largest cities group in the United States and each division as 100, the indexes for the different sizes of communities in the United States and its nine divisions are as given in Table 35.

Since the indexes of the United States and of each of the divisions are calculated from a different base the size of the index tells us nothing regarding their relations to one another, but it does enable us to compare readily the differences between communities of different sizes within the several areas, for native white women.

In every division, as well as in the United States as a whole, there is an increase in ratio of children as the community becomes smaller. The smallest increases between the big cities and the rural communities are found in the New England, the Middle Atlantic, and the East North Central States, where the indexes for rural communities are respectively 64 points, 71.9 points, and 77.5 points greater than in the large cities. Elsewhere, as well as in the entire United States, the indexes for rural communities are over 100 points higher than for the large cities. The East South Central States have the highest index for their rural communities but the other two Southern divisions are not far behind. Moreover, there is no division in which the increase in indexes is not steady, that is, in which it is not higher in a smaller community than in a larger one. By referring to Table 34 we also see that there are only four or five instances among the States in which a higher ratio of children occurs in the larger community than in the next smaller community.

TABLE 34.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, WITH RANKINGS, FOR COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1920 [1]

DIVISION AND STATE	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE											
	The State		Cities								Rural districts	
			100,000 inhabitants and over		25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants		10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants		2,500 to 10,000 inhabitants			
	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank
UNITED STATES [2]	538	-----	341	-----	390	-----	434	-----	477	-----	721	----
NEW ENGLAND	393	8	322	8	350	8	386	8	412	8	528	9
Maine	515	32	-----	-----	335	37	399	39	453	35	603	38
New Hampshire	435	42	-----	-----	350	31	374	42	434	40	517	41
Vermont	525	28	-----	-----	-----	-----	417	33	401	45	587	39
Massachusetts	359	47	325	22	351	30	384	41	405	44	461	46
Rhode Island	363	45	301	28	380	23	422	27	438	39	436	48
Connecticut	371	44	322	23	340	36	360	44	366	48	442	47
MIDDLE ATLANTIC	429	7	342	6	381	6	431	5	466	6	588	7
New York	362	46	322	24	323	38	369	43	392	46	494	44
New Jersey	402	43	363	13	378	34	400	38	415	43	480	45
Pennsylvania	512	33	378	10	429	9	484	7	515	13	671	27
EAST NORTH CENTRAL	493	6	360	4	413	2	451	4	478	5	639	6
Ohio	482	37	366	12	429	10	453	17	473	27	633	33
Indiana	519	30	354	17	421	13	467	12	474	26	622	35
Illinois	450	40	332	20	363	27	421	28	465	29	618	37
Michigan	524	29	407	6	449	6	479	8	514	15	668	29
Wisconsin	548	25	381	9	420	14	458	16	478	22	679	25
WEST NORTH CENTRAL	554	5	328	7	385	5	424	6	453	7	680	5
Minnesota	538	27	347	19	415	16	439	22	480	20	687	23
Iowa	546	26	362	14	390	19	417	34	429	41	641	32
Missouri	510	34	303	27	380	22	419	31	446	36	685	24
North Dakota	722	11	-----	-----	-----	-----	426	25	486	18	788	16
South Dakota	670	16	-----	-----	417	15	418	32	460	31	727	20
Nebraska	578	23	332	21	345	34	447	19	455	34	677	26
Kansas	574	24	458	2	372	26	423	26	460	32	663	30
SOUTH ATLANTIC	713	2	406	1	459	1	494	1	551	1	848	1
Delaware	491	36	424	4	-----	-----	-----	-----	461	30	571	40
Maryland	507	35	416	5	486	3	461	13	489	16	649	31
Virginia	688	15	393	8	478	4	460	14	560	6	809	15
West Virginia	788	3	-----	-----	467	5	474	9	587	3	915	2
North Carolina	827	1	-----	-----	499	2	516	5	623	2	910	3
South Carolina	777	6	-----	-----	434	7	521	3	559	7	872	6
Georgia	731	9	377	11	426	12	522	2	524	11	869	7
Florida	627	19	-----	-----	429	11	415	35	446	37	754	18
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL	734	1	375	2	406	3	463	3	516	3	846	2
Kentucky	722	12	358	16	377	25	445	20	479	21	854	8
Tennessee	706	14	361	15	430	8	498	6	536	9	816	13
Alabama	786	5	431	3	415	17	519	4	580	4	894	4
Mississippi	740	8	-----	-----	-----	-----	420	29	486	19	813	14
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL	682	3	369	3	376	7	466	2	512	4	817	3
Arkansas	798	2	-----	-----	391	18	474	10	522	12	888	5
Louisiana	659	17	396	7	346	33	448	18	533	10	853	9
Oklahoma	722	13	-----	-----	360	28	459	15	539	8	853	10
Texas	630	18	353	18	389	20	472	11	487	17	760	17
MOUNTAIN	631	4	356	5	390	4	423	7	535	2	775	4
Montana	620	20	-----	-----	349	32	415	36	476	24	733	19
Idaho	729	10	-----	-----	-----	-----	443	21	566	5	824	12
Wyoming	593	21	-----	-----	-----	-----	391	40	476	25	670	28
Colorado	516	31	294	29	345	35	420	30	478	23	715	21
New Mexico	757	7	-----	-----	-----	-----	438	23	515	14	836	11
Arizona	580	22	-----	-----	359	29	405	37	473	28	710	22
Utah	788	4	498	1	571	1	716	1	807	1	1,012	1
Nevada	447	41	-----	-----	-----	-----	270	47	444	38	498	43
PACIFIC	388	9	268	9	315	9	365	9	407	9	563	8
Washington	462	39	312	25	381	21	430	24	458	33	628	34
Oregon	463	38	312	26	-----	-----	334	46	416	42	619	36
California	341	48	244	30	295	39	348	45	389	47	501	42

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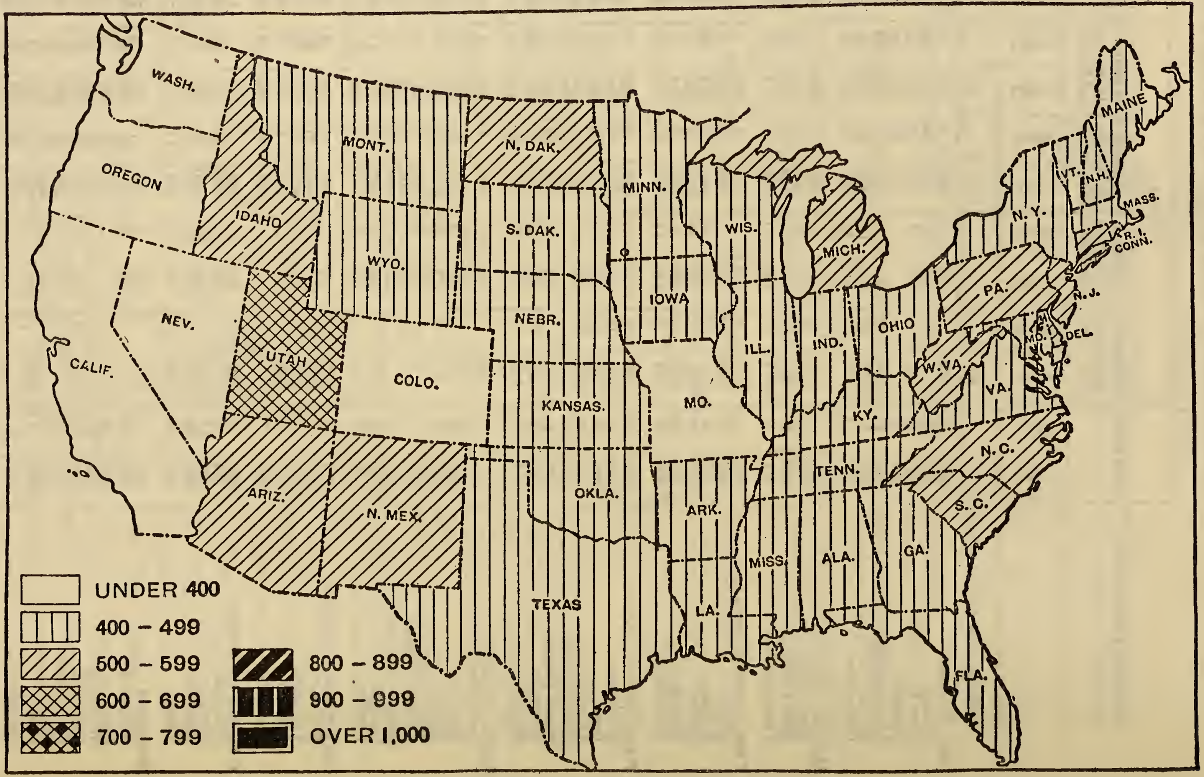
[1] From data in Detailed Table I.

[2] District of Columbia included; not shown separately.

FIGURE 3.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE IN THE URBAN POPULATION: 1920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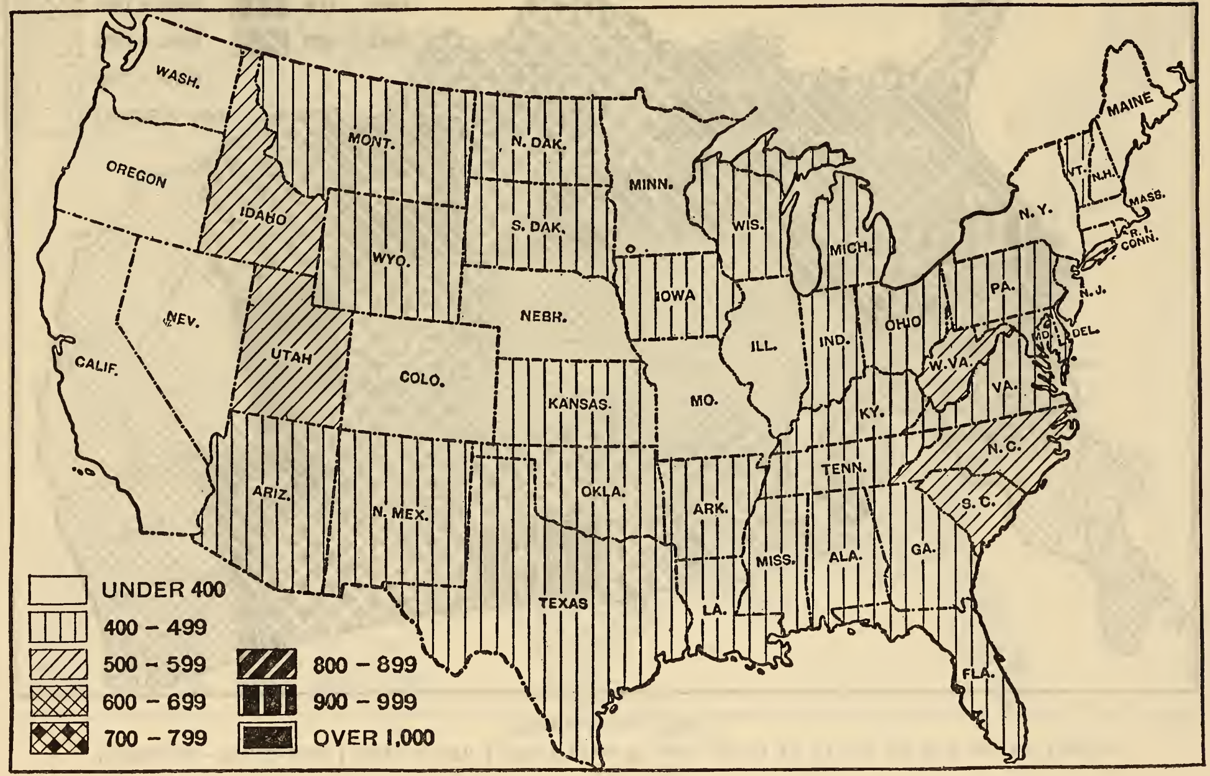
OVER 1,000

FIGURE 4.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE IN THE URBAN POPULATION: 1920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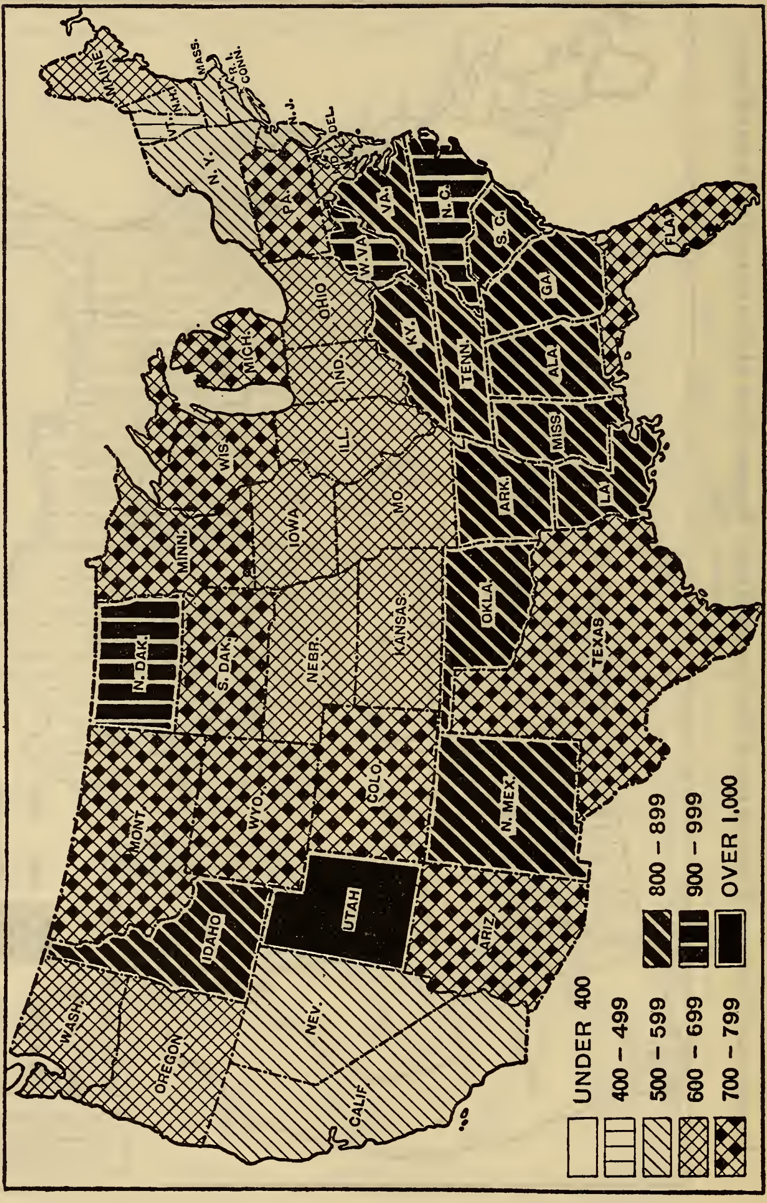
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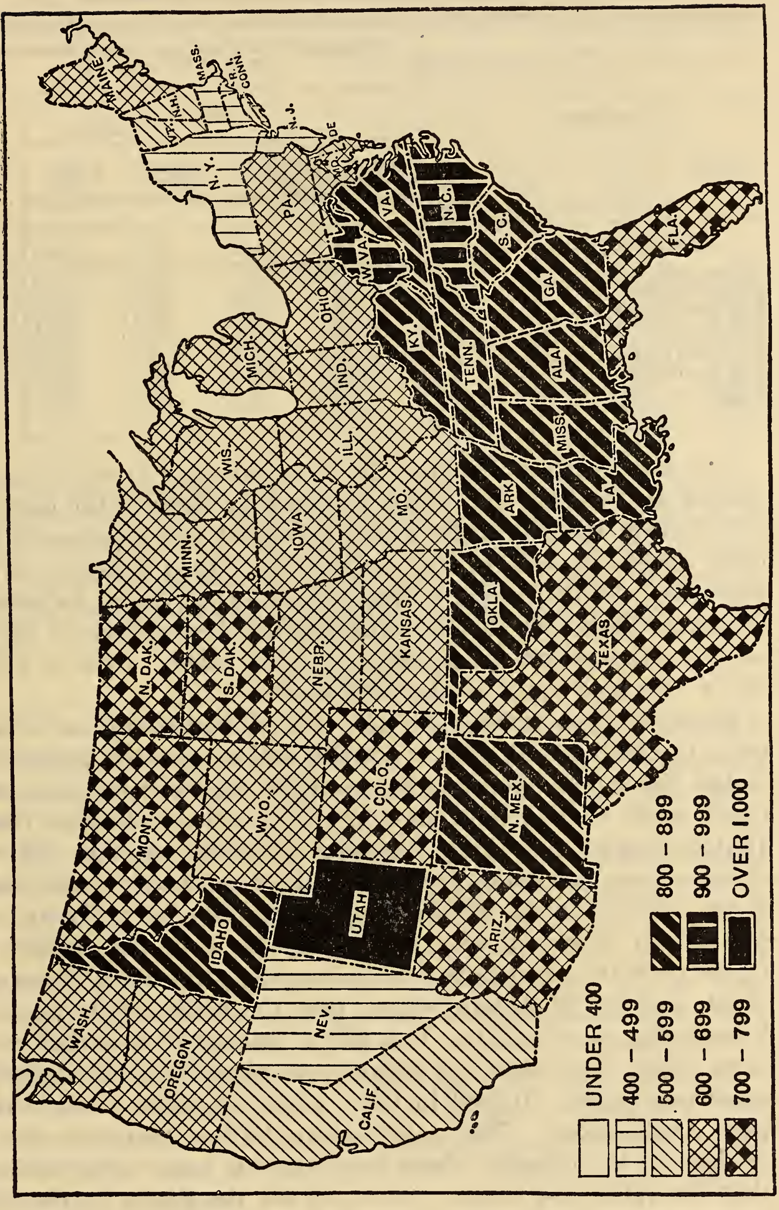
Figure 5.—Children Under 5 per 1,000 White Women 20 to 44 Years of Age in the Rural Population: 1920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500 – 599
600 – 699
700 – 799
800 – 899
900 – 999
OVER 1,000

FIGURE 6.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE IN THE RURAL POPULATION: 1920

TABLE 35.—INDEXES FOR THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE IN COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY DIVISIONS: 1920

[Ratio of children in cities of 100,000 and over in each division=100]

DIVISION	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				
	Cities				Rural districts
	100,000 inhabitants and over	25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants	10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants	2,500 to 10,000 inhabitants	
United States	100	114. 4	127. 3	139. 9	211. 4
New England	100	108. 7	119. 9	128. 0	164. 0
Middle Atlantic	100	111. 4	126. 0	136. 3	171. 9
East North Central	100	114. 7	125. 3	132. 8	177. 5
West North Central	100	117. 4	129. 3	138. 1	207. 3
South Atlantic	100	113. 0	121. 7	135. 7	208. 9
East South Central	100	108. 3	123. 5	137. 6	225. 6
West South Central	100	101. 9	126. 3	138. 8	221. 4
Mountain	100	109. 6	118. 8	150. 3	217. 7
Pacific	100	117. 5	136. 2	151. 9	210. 1

It is also worth noting that the three divisions in which the rural indexes are less than 100 points greater than those of the large cities are those in the Northeast where industrial and commercial life is most developed and where, presumably, urban influence is most pervasive. In the Southern States, on the other hand, industry and commerce have been slower developing and the contacts of the rural people with modern urban life have been fewer. Here in turn we find a very high index for the rural districts.

Table 36 gives indexes for the United States and its divisions, using the ratio for all cities of 100,000 and over in the United States as the base (100). Here we have a basis for the comparison of different areas and different sizes of communities. We find that the United States, the three Southern divisions, and the Mountain division have indexes of over 200 in the rural districts and that the West North Central division approaches 200 very closely. This comparison shows us very clearly that it is in the smaller cities (2,500 to 10,000) and in the rural districts, particularly those of the South and the Mountain States, that the native white population is increasing most rapidly. It is also of interest to note that in those areas where the ratios are highest the proportion of Anglo-Saxon stock is greatest. Indeed in these areas the white stock is almost pure Anglo-Saxon. This table shows further that it is in those sections of the country where population is most highly urbanized that the ratios are lowest. Included are the States in the Northeastern part of the country and on the Pacific coast. In these parts of the country the influence of urban life seems to penetrate even the rural communities to a marked degree. This is quite in keeping with our findings in Chapters III and IV.

TABLE 36.—INDEXES FOR THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, IN COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY DIVISIONS: 1920

[Ratio of children in cities of 100,000 and over for the whole United States=100]

DIVISION	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				
	Cities				Rural districts
	100,000 inhabitants and over	25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants	10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants	2,500 to 10,000 inhabitants	
United States	100.0	114.4	127.3	139.9	211.4
New England	94.4	102.6	113.2	120.8	154.8
Middle Atlantic	100.3	111.7	126.4	136.7	172.4
East North Central	105.6	121.1	132.3	140.2	187.4
West North Central	96.2	112.9	124.3	132.8	199.4
South Atlantic	119.1	134.6	144.9	161.6	248.7
East South Central	110.0	119.1	135.8	151.3	248.1
West South Central	108.2	110.3	136.9	150.1	239.6
Mountain	104.4	114.4	124.0	156.9	227.3
Pacific	78.6	92.4	107.0	119.4	165.1

It is also important to note that in the entire United States the two groups of smaller cities (10,000 to 25,000 and 2,500 to 10,000) have indexes 27.3 points and 39.9 points greater than the large cities. There can be no reasonable doubt that under present conditions, size of city has considerable influence on the ratio of children to native women.

MARRIAGE

Even when married women only are considered as in Table 37 this same relation between the size of the community and the ratio of children is clearly marked. The smaller the community the higher the ratio of children.

It is true that the difference between the largest and the smallest communities is only about two-thirds as great in the case of married women as of all women but it is still over three-fourths greater in rural communities than in the big cities. (Table 38.) Here, too, the increase is continuous with very few exceptions. In the West South Central division the largest cities have a slightly higher index than the cities of 25,000 to 100,000 and the same is true in a few of the States, for example in Vermont the cities of 10,000 to 25,000 have a higher index than the cities of 2,500 to 10,000. (Table 37.) But the few exceptions are of little significance and do not invalidate the general statement that the ratio of children decreases as the size of the community increases.

Figure 7.—Children Under 5 per 1,000 Women 20 to 44 Years of Age by Nativity and Marital Condition: 1920

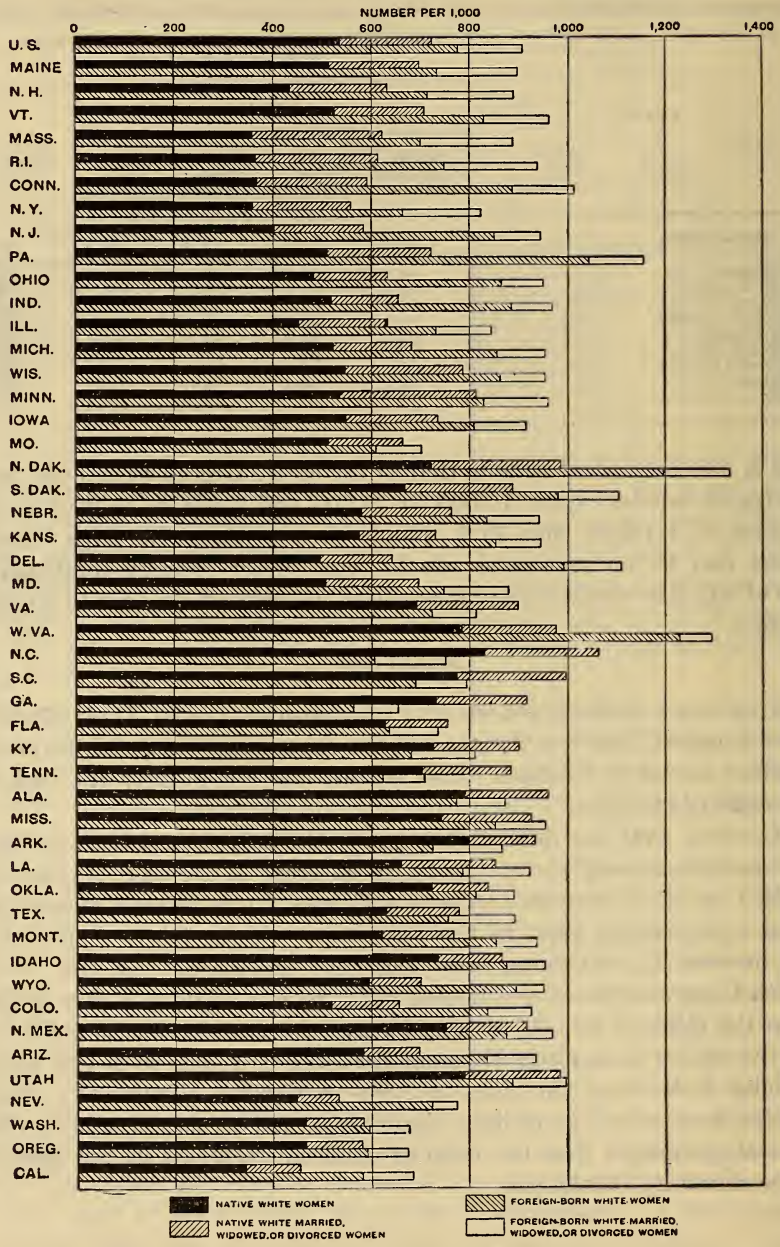

TABLE 37.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED, WITH RANKINGS, FOR COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1920[1]

DIVISION AND STATE	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE											
	The State		Cities								Rural districts	
			100,000 inhabitants and over		25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants		10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants		2,500 to 10,000 inhabitants			
	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank
UNITED STATES[2]	725	-----	512	-----	554	-----	608	-----	646	-----	899	-----
NEW ENGLAND	632	8	577	1	595	2	631	2	641	6	716	8
Maine	695	30	-----	-----	534	24	586	27	630	25	762	36
New Hampshire	634	38	-----	-----	614	9	572	32	625	28	677	42
Vermont	707	27	-----	-----	-----	-----	643	14	593	39	749	37
Massachusetts	621	40	599	2	604	12	639	16	657	20	683	41
Rhode Island	615	41	540	14	643	5	702	4	669	16	613	46
Connecticut	593	42	527	16	562	17	619	18	603	35	663	43
MIDDLE ATLANTIC	633	7	546	3	567	3	630	3	657	4	778	7
New York	558	46	529	15	502	30	554	39	566	45	656	44
New Jersey	590	43	558	9	575	15	593	24	586	40	647	45
Pennsylvania	723	26	578	6	612	10	692	6	719	9	882	22
EAST NORTH CENTRAL	662	6	519	4	561	4	616	4	644	5	810	6
Ohio	638	37	511	18	562	18	601	21	628	27	793	32
Indiana	659	34	462	24	556	19	600	22	611	33	768	35
Illinois	629	39	508	19	516	26	585	29	622	30	791	33
Michigan	680	32	552	11	581	14	684	8	685	14	819	30
Wisconsin	786	19	587	5	642	6	691	7	723	8	915	19
WEST NORTH CENTRAL	745	5	478	8	541	6	595	6	636	7	876	5
Minnesota	811	18	558	10	653	4	726	2	744	6	981	15
Iowa	732	24	507	20	556	20	586	28	617	31	829	28
Missouri	664	33	430	26	499	32	555	38	595	38	840	26
North Dakota	987	3	-----	-----	-----	-----	680	9	739	7	1,045	7
South Dakota	885	13	-----	-----	597	13	613	19	663	19	941	18
Nebraska	764	21	474	23	507	27	604	20	625	29	868	23
Kansas	730	25	573	7	504	28	552	40	602	37	828	29
SOUTH ATLANTIC	911	1	569	2	607	1	666	1	725	1	1,053	1
Delaware	645	36	589	4	-----	-----	-----	-----	643	21	704	40
Maryland	697	29	598	3	660	3	644	13	666	17	841	25
Virginia	899	11	545	12	633	7	646	12	747	4	1,036	8
West Virginia	975	5	-----	-----	619	8	641	15	745	5	1,103	3
North Carolina	1,062	1	-----	-----	686	2	712	3	825	2	1,149	2
South Carolina	992	2	-----	-----	608	11	698	5	768	3	1,087	4
Georgia	909	10	497	21	555	21	658	11	680	15	1,057	6
Florida	758	23	-----	-----	529	25	545	42	573	42	888	21
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL	910	2	511	5	555	5	607	5	665	3	1,022	2
Kentucky	899	12	517	17	540	23	585	30	630	26	1,019	10
Tennessee	880	14	485	22	568	16	637	17	689	13	994	13
Alabama	959	6	543	13	555	22	659	10	718	10	1,075	5
Mississippi	924	8	-----	-----	-----	-----	571	33	633	24	998	12
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL	822	3	496	6	480	8	578	7	633	8	957	3
Arkansas	928	7	-----	-----	504	29	571	34	637	23	1,016	11
Louisiana	846	16	570	8	438	38	587	26	705	12	1,031	9
Oklahoma	835	17	-----	-----	456	36	559	37	639	22	962	16
Texas	772	20	456	25	500	31	588	25	610	34	910	20
MOUNTAIN	775	4	486	7	518	7	560	8	674	2	907	4
Montana	762	22	-----	-----	473	35	568	36	613	32	861	24
Idaho	863	15	-----	-----	-----	-----	571	35	710	11	948	17
Wyoming	698	28	-----	-----	-----	-----	473	44	584	41	777	34
Colorado	653	35	407	29	475	34	581	31	603	36	836	27
New Mexico	915	9	-----	-----	-----	-----	595	23	665	18	988	14
Arizona	691	31	-----	-----	455	37	526	43	571	43	819	31
Utah	983	4	660	1	719	1	956	1	1,029	1	1,203	1
Nevada	537	47	-----	-----	-----	-----	350	47	516	47	586	48
PACIFIC	504	9	367	9	430	9	474	9	520	9	677	9
Washington	583	44	419	27	499	33	546	41	571	44	745	38
Oregon	581	45	415	28	-----	-----	470	45	525	46	730	39
California	451	48	338	30	407	39	450	46	503	48	612	47

[1] From data in Detailed Table I.

[2] District of Columbia included; not shown separately.

TABLE 38.—INDEXES FOR THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, IN COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY DIVISIONS: 1920

[Ratio of children in cities of 100,000 and over in each division = 100]

DIVISION	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE MARRIED WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				
	Cities				Rural districts
	100,000 inhabitants and over	25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants	10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants	2,500 to 10,000 inhabitants	
United States	100	108.2	118.8	126.2	175.6
New England	100	103.1	109.4	111.1	124.1
Middle Atlantic	100	103.8	115.4	120.3	142.5
East North Central	100	108.1	118.7	124.1	156.1
West North Central	100	113.2	124.5	133.0	183.3
South Atlantic	100	106.7	117.0	127.4	185.1
East South Central	100	108.6	118.8	130.1	200.0
West South Central	100	96.8	116.5	127.6	192.9
Mountain	100	106.6	115.2	138.7	186.6
Pacific	100	117.2	129.2	141.7	184.4

This matter of the effect of marriage upon the ratio of children is not as simple as Table 38 might seem to imply. Women are not equally fertile at all ages within the childbearing period. Fecundity appears to decrease rather steadily from shortly after puberty.

The results of possibly the best study on the fertility of marriage[1] show that the postponement of marriage for several years has a more than proportional effect in reducing the size of the family. In England and Wales in 1911 the women who had been married 29–30 years, that is, those who were married about 1882, showed the highest fertility when they were married at age 17. Every year thereafter that marriage was postponed had a marked effect upon the number of children born. Those married at 21 had just about three-fourths as many children as those married at 17 and at 23 they had but two-thirds as many; while those married at 27–28 had but half as many. Expressed in another way, 9 marriages at 17 will result in as many children born as 10 at 19, 3 at 17 are as fertile as 4 at 21, 2 at 17 are equivalent to 3 at 23, and 1 at 17 is as fertile as 2 at 27–28. A comparatively short postponement of marriage, therefore, results in a considerable decline in the number of children a woman bears—averaging about 5 per cent a year for the 10 years from age 17 to age 27. It is not implied that all of this decline in number of children born to women married at different ages is due to the mere fact of increasing age at marriage. It is no doubt true that many other factors find expression, in part at least, in the postponement of marriage. Differences between groups in social status, in occupational class, in standards of living, etc., are all more or less manifest in the age at marriage. But postponement of marriage, whatever the underlying cause, is one of the important factors making for lower ratios of children among urban dwellers.

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[1] Census of England and Wales, 1911, Vol. XIII, Fertility of Marriage, Table XII, p. XXXXII.

Without going into much detail regarding the postponement of marriage in different communities in this country the following table (Table 39) shows that the differences between sections of the country are sufficient to influence the ratios of children to an appreciable extent.

TABLE 39.—PER CENT MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED IN THE FEMALE POPULATION 15 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY DIVISIONS: 1920[1]

DIVISION	AGE GROUP			
	15–19 years	20–24 years	25–34 years	35–44 years
United States	12.9	54.3	80.6	88.6
New England	6.3	41.0	72.4	82.3
Middle Atlantic	8.1	46.8	76.8	85.6
East North Central	10.3	52.6	80.9	88.8
West North Central	9.9	50.1	80.2	89.4
South Atlantic	17.5	60.7	82.5	89.7
East South Central	20.4	64.8	85.2	91.6
West South Central	19.8	65.9	87.4	93.8
Mountain	14.2	61.3	86.5	93.4
Pacific	12.4	55.6	81.8	89.2

[1] Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Population, 1920, p. 400.

More than three times as large a proportion of the girls 15 to 19 are married in the East South Central States as in New England and the percentage of those 20 to 24 in the West South Central States who are married is much greater than in New England. The postponement of marriage is much more common in the industrial areas than in the rural areas of the country. This fact should not be forgotten, but after all in this connection we are more interested in the ratio of children to all women than in the question of marital condition, because from the standpoint of population growth it is the actual production of children by all women which is important. From this standpoint the woman who does not raise children is a total loss and a population that has a large proportion of unmarried women may die out even though the married women in it have rather large families. In time, the knowledge of the fact that conception can be easily prevented may reverse the normal relation between early marriages and a high ratio of children, but this has not happened yet.

URBANISM, COMMERCIALISM, AND INDUSTRIALISM

As matters stand at the present, then, living in small communities seems to have deranged the customary reproductive life of people less than living in large communities and a disproportionately large part of our natural increase comes from the small communities.

FIGURE 8.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE IN THE URBAN POPULATION: 1920

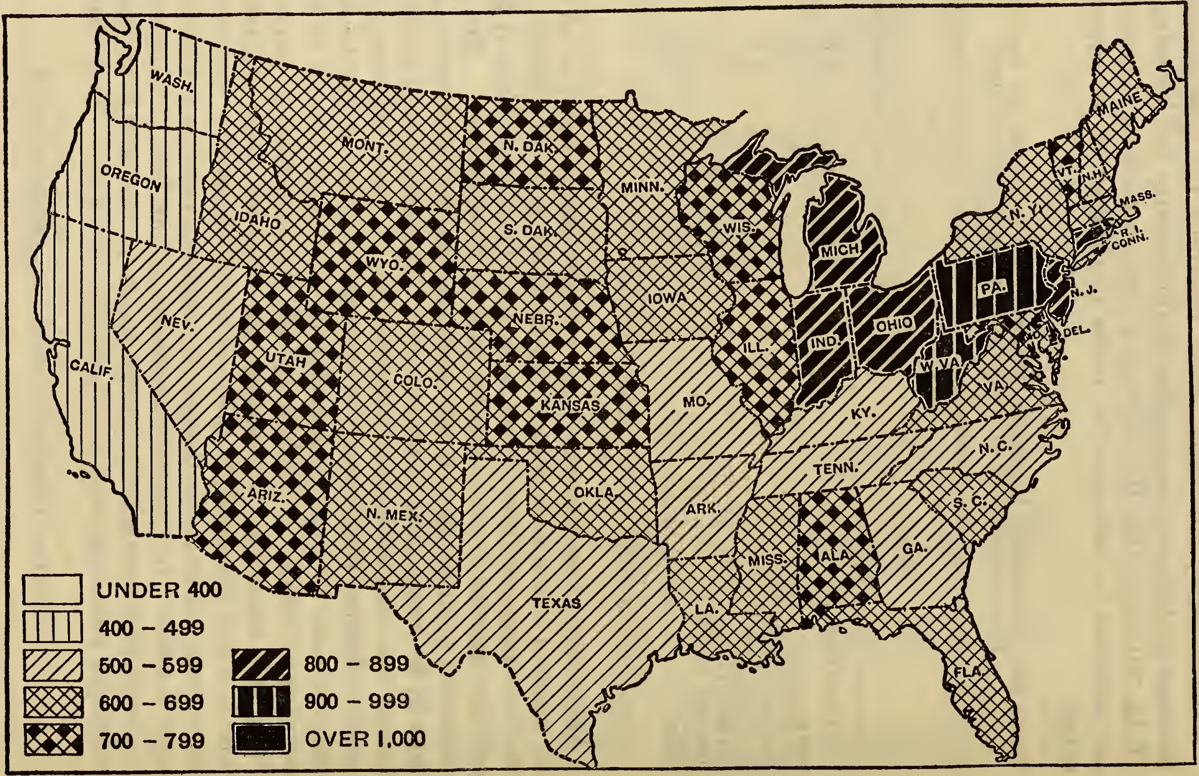
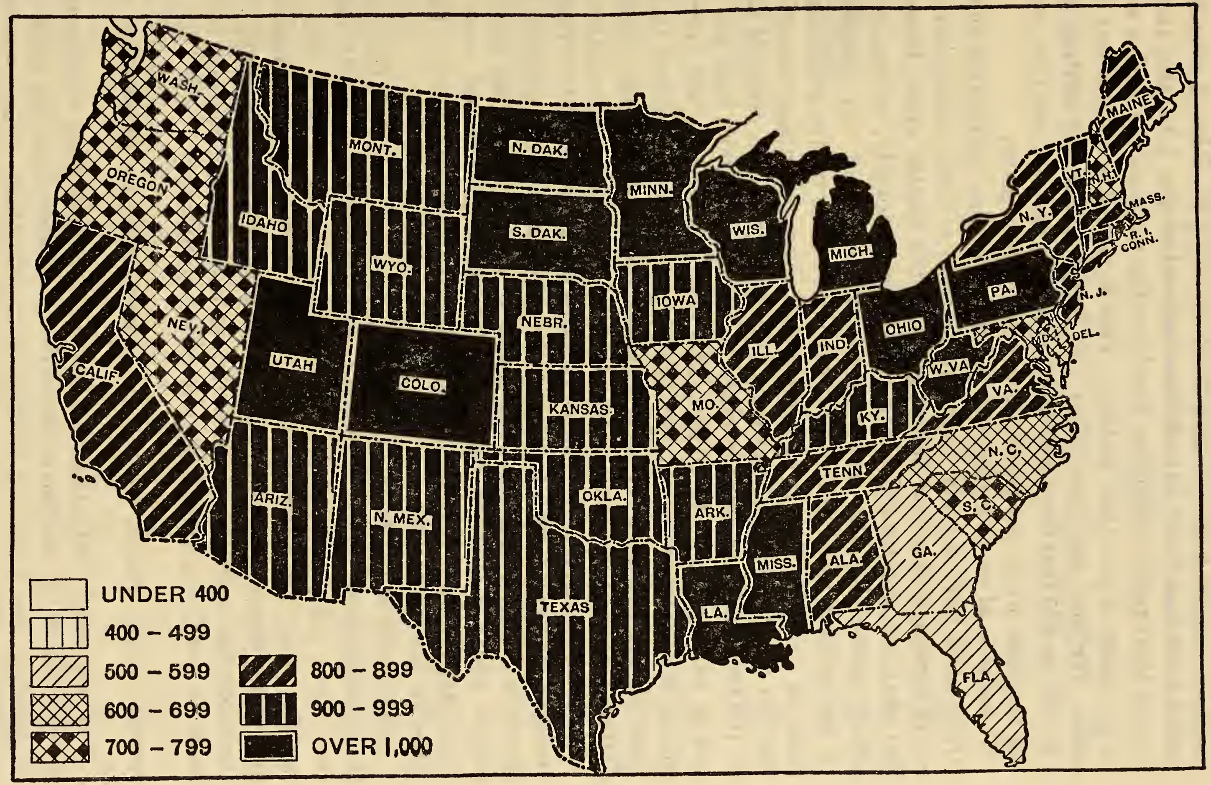

WASH.
OREGON
CALIF.
NEV.
IDAHO
MONT.
WYO.
UTAH
ARIZ.
COLO.
N. MEX.
N. DAK.
S. DAK.
NEBR.
KANSAS
OKLA.
TEXAS
MINN.
IOWA
MO.
ARK.
LA.
WIS.
ILL.
MICH.
IND.
OHIO
KY.
TENN.
MISS.
ALA.
GA.
FLA.
S. C.
N. C.
VA.
W. VA.
MD.
DEL.
N. J.
PA.
N. Y.
VT.
N. H.
MAINE
MASS.
R. I.
CONN.
UNDER 400
400 – 499
500 – 599
600 – 699
700 – 799
800 – 899
900 – 999
OVER 1,000

FIGURE 9.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE IN THE RURAL POPULATION: 1920


WASH.
OREGON
CALIF.
NEV.
IDAHO
MONT.
WYO.
UTAH
COLO.
ARIZ.
N. MEX.
N. DAK.
S. DAK.
NEBR.
KANSAS
OKLA.
TEXAS
MINN.
IOWA
MO.
ARK.
LA.
WIS.
ILL.
MICH.
IND.
OHIO
KY.
TENN.
MISS.
ALA.
GA.
FLA.
S. C.
N. C.
VA.
W. VA.
PA.
N. Y.
N. J.
DEL.
MD.
VT.
N. H.
MAINE
MASS.
R. I.
CONN.
UNDER 400
400 - 499
500 - 599
600 - 699
700 - 799
800 - 899
900 - 999
OVER 1,000

Just how far apart the larger and smaller communities are in this matter can be seen by some comparisons between them based on the supposition that they had the same ratios of children. Thus the 5,491,267 native white women 20 to 44 living in cities of over 25,000 would have had 2,520,491 children instead of the 1,950,086 they did have if their ratio of children had been the same as the native women in the cities of less than 25,000. This is almost a 30 per cent difference. We may say, then, that the larger cities are cutting about 120,000 to 125,000 from our increase each year and are thus hastening the time when our population will cease to grow.

It may be of some interest to point out in this connection that the larger cities have a much larger proportion of their native born who are of foreign and mixed parentage than the smaller cities, hence, the fact that the smaller cities add more, proportionally, to our increase affects materially the nationality composition of our population. In the entire United States 37.6 per cent of the native population in cities of over 500,000 is of foreign or mixed parentage; in cities of 100,000 to 500,000, 28.2 per cent is in this group; in cities of 25,000 to 100,000, 26.5 per cent; in cities of 10,000 to 25,000, 24.6 per cent; and in cities of 2,500 to 10,000, 20.6 per cent. These are very considerable differences and if the differential ratios of children in these cities should continue for some decades they would result in quite a different nationality composition in the larger and smaller cities.

Striking as are the differences in cities in ratios of children they are small as compared with those between the larger cities and the rural districts. Thus, with the same ratio as rural women, the 5,491,267 native white women in the cities of over 25,000 would have had 3,959,203 children instead of the 1,950,086 they did have. This is over 100 per cent more.

In the light of the facts cited above, it would seem that there could be no reasonable doubt that the forces depressing the birth rate in the native population of the United States at the present time, and for the past two generations, say since 1860, may be summed up under the terms urbanism, commercialism, and industrialism. Furthermore, the influence of urbanism, as thus defined, appears to vary more or less directly with the size of the community.

FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN IN COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES

Further proof that urban life and its accompanying conditions lie at the basis of the decline of the ratio of children (and the birth rate) is found in the ratios of children to foreign-born white women in communities of varying size. In Tables 40 and 41 we have these ratios for all women and for married women and in Table 42 we have indexes similar to those given for native white women.

Table 40.—Children Under 5 per 1,000 Foreign-born White Women 20 to 44 Years of Age, with Rankings, for Communities of Different Sizes, by Divisions and States: 1920 [1]

[Ratios not shown where base is less than 100]

DIVISION AND STATE	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE											
	The State		Cities								Rural districts	
			100,000 inhabitants and over		25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants		10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants		2,500 to 10,000 inhabitants			
	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank
UNITED STATES [2]	779	-----	679	-----	766	-----	861	-----	873	-----	998	---
NEW ENGLAND	747	7	700	3	710	3	811	3	806	4	870	8
Maine	732	32	-----	-----	623	27	689	23	763	26	811	36
New Hampshire	713	36	-----	-----	669	18	735	16	711	33	798	39
Vermont	829	23	-----	-----	-----	-----	735	17	738	28	906	24
Massachusetts	700	37	661	15	679	15	779	12	795	19	827	35
Rhode Island	755	28	737	11	665	20	837	9	898	8	856	31
Connecticut	886	8	825	4	898	4	991	2	919	7	910	23
MIDDLE ATLANTIC	789	5	672	4	863	1	1,033	1	1,034	1	1,121	1
New York	664	40	629	17	807	8	916	3	854	12	837	33
New Jersey	833	19	829	3	804	10	861	7	824	14	896	27
Pennsylvania	1,043	3	782	7	1,048	1	1,160	1	1,211	1	1,336	2
EAST NORTH CENTRAL	811	4	751	2	833	2	845	2	844	3	984	5
Ohio	866	12	808	5	896	5	898	5	1,001	4	1,067	7
Indiana	888	7	610	20	983	2	880	6	641	42	847	32
Illinois	734	31	712	13	666	19	807	11	817	16	879	30
Michigan	859	14	784	6	876	6	861	8	836	13	1,020	11
Wisconsin	862	13	755	9	807	9	759	14	801	17	1,002	12
WEST NORTH CENTRAL	849	1	632	5	670	5	705	5	778	5	1,037	2
Minnesota	831	20	622	18	638	23	774	13	884	10	1,048	8
Iowa	806	25	617	19	647	22	700	20	661	40	926	19
Missouri	609	43	592	21	634	24	487	44	513	47	738	45
North Dakota	1,199	2	-----	-----	-----	-----	656	27	820	15	1,269	3
South Dakota	980	5	-----	-----	631	26	813	10	583	44	1,048	9
Nebraska	836	18	713	12	905	3	720	18	781	22	916	20
Kansas	849	17	935	2	715	14	605	34	695	36	912	21
SOUTH ATLANTIC	831	3	768	1	682	4	708	4	846	2	1,032	3
Delaware	997	4	1,010	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	1,145	2	893	28
Maryland	753	29	749	10	802	11	616	32	863	11	771	42
Virginia	723	33	631	16	671	17	590	36	893	9	837	34
West Virginia	1,231	1	-----	-----	833	7	914	4	1,068	3	1,393	1
North Carolina	606	44	-----	-----	478	39	579	37	793	20	655	46
South Carolina	687	38	-----	-----	634	25	699	21	726	31	741	44
Georgia	560	48	536	26	545	32	500	43	767	23	555	47
Florida	636	41	-----	-----	664	21	649	28	673	39	553	48
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL	710	8	625	6	527	9	626	7	718	7	927	7
Kentucky	678	39	541	25	511	37	524	41	730	30	971	15
Tennessee	614	42	582	23	525	35	-----	-----	503	48	802	38
Alabama	771	27	778	8	555	31	639	30	789	21	885	29
Mississippi	851	16	-----	-----	-----	-----	656	26	767	24	1,035	10
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL	758	6	579	7	603	7	580	8	676	8	929	6
Arkansas	723	34	-----	-----	499	38	476	45	576	45	900	25
Louisiana	785	26	544	24	676	16	741	15	940	6	1,191	4
Oklahoma	807	24	-----	-----	533	34	623	31	701	34	939	17
Texas	751	30	589	22	613	28	570	38	643	41	911	22
MOUNTAIN	848	2	574	8	648	6	646	6	764	6	986	4
Montana	855	15	-----	-----	537	33	648	29	712	32	999	13
Idaho	870	11	-----	-----	-----	-----	686	24	674	38	961	16
Wyoming	890	6	-----	-----	-----	-----	719	19	735	29	980	14
Colorado	831	21	510	27	739	13	699	22	801	18	1,084	6
New Mexico	875	10	-----	-----	-----	-----	528	40	700	35	931	18
Arizona	830	22	-----	-----	599	29	658	25	766	25	900	26
Utah	883	9	690	14	791	12	610	33	962	5	1,104	5
Nevada	719	35	-----	-----	-----	-----	438	46	748	27	785	40
PACIFIC	582	9	449	9	334	8	567	9	666	9	792	9
Washington	591	45	442	30	577	30	593	35	598	43	774	41
Oregon	583	46	493	28	-----	-----	513	42	536	46	757	43
California	579	47	445	29	517	36	568	39	693	37	806	37

[1] From data in Detailed Table I.

[2] District of Columbia included; not shown separately.

Table 41.—Children Under 5 per 1,000 Foreign-born White Married, Widowed, or Divorced Women 20 to 44 Years of Age, with Rankings, for Communities of Different Sizes, by Divisions and States: 1920[1]

[Ratios not shown where base is less than 100]

DIVISION AND STATE	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE MARRIED WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE											
	The State		Cities								Rural districts	
			100,000 inhabitants and over		25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants		10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants		2,500 to 10,000 inhabitants			
	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank
UNITED STATES[2]	911	-----	819	-----	901	-----	988	-----	995	-----	1,092	-----
NEW ENGLAND	921	5	886	1	885	3	974	2	982	2	991	8
Maine	896	27	-----	-----	837	17	897	13	915	18	924	35
New Hampshire	889	28	-----	-----	889	13	895	14	875	25	894	37
Vermont	961	10	-----	-----	-----	-----	868	17	909	19	1,014	23
Massachusetts	886	30	857	11	861	14	945	11	977	13	965	29
Rhode Island	939	21	924	5	847	16	1,015	4	1,081	4	964	30
Connecticut	1,014	6	960	3	1,015	4	1,111	2	1,072	6	1,036	15
MIDDLE ATLANTIC	935	4	825	4	983	1	1,135	1	1,143	1	1,228	1
New York	820	36	787	16	939	9	1,051	3	1,006	10	963	31
New Jersey	945	18	935	4	922	10	989	7	942	15	994	27
Pennsylvania	1,158	3	921	6	1,146	1	1,227	1	1,285	1	1,423	2
EAST NORTH CENTRAL	910	6	857	3	928	2	937	3	936	4	1,059	4
Ohio	951	15	897	7	978	5	989	8	1,074	5	1,129	9
Indiana	968	8	708	21	1,051	3	959	10	717	44	937	34
Illinois	844	35	827	13	781	20	891	15	917	16	956	33
Michigan	956	12	894	8	964	6	970	9	917	17	1,090	12
Wisconsin	955	13	849	12	905	12	859	18	909	20	1,084	13
WEST NORTH CENTRAL	967	1	749	5	793	4	836	4	902	5	1,137	2
Minnesota	959	11	764	17	773	21	903	12	987	12	1,146	7
Iowa	914	26	751	18	754	24	821	20	789	33	1,017	21
Missouri	704	43	686	22	731	28	577	43	653	46	831	43
North Dakota	1,333	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	820	21	1,004	11	1,390	3
South Dakota	1,102	5	-----	-----	753	25	995	6	750	43	1,155	6
Nebraska	940	20	822	14	1,064	2	842	19	899	21	1,004	24
Kansas	943	19	1,012	2	852	15	719	34	788	34	996	26
SOUTH ATLANTIC	941	2	885	2	792	5	805	5	939	3	1,128	3
Delaware	1,112	4	1,122	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	1,200	2	1,031	16
Maryland	874	32	870	9	956	7	733	32	1,019	9	886	39
Virginia	811	37	725	19	746	26	669	38	965	14	923	36
West Virginia	1,298	2	-----	-----	956	8	1,014	5	1,147	3	1,427	1
North Carolina	753	41	-----	-----	597	39	684	36	897	22	867	41
South Carolina	790	39	-----	-----	735	27	791	26	831	30	851	42
Georgia	658	48	613	26	681	31	553	44	835	29	660	48
Florida	739	42	-----	-----	765	23	751	30	764	41	664	47
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL	817	8	730	6	648	8	723	8	809	7	1,023	7
Kentucky	806	38	661	25	631	34	-----	-----	836	28	1,103	11
Tennessee	703	44	677	23	616	36	-----	-----	540	48	887	38
Alabama	867	33	864	10	705	29	727	33	891	23	957	32
Mississippi	953	14	-----	-----	-----	-----	762	29	868	27	1,124	10
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL	892	7	704	7	753	6	744	7	799	8	1,043	6
Arkansas	861	34	-----	-----	614	37	599	42	766	40	1,022	20
Louisiana	924	24	677	24	825	19	876	16	1,066	7	1,285	4
Oklahoma	885	31	-----	-----	633	33	707	35	768	39	1,001	25
Texas	889	29	711	20	770	22	743	31	769	38	1,031	17
MOUNTAIN	938	3	683	8	740	7	765	6	861	6	1,053	5
Montana	938	22	-----	-----	613	38	766	28	798	32	1,064	14
Idaho	950	16	-----	-----	-----	-----	795	25	762	42	1,027	19
Wyoming	948	17	-----	-----	-----	-----	813	23	787	35	1,028	18
Colorado	922	25	608	27	836	18	802	24	874	26	1,144	8
New Mexico	968	9	-----	-----	-----	-----	633	40	816	31	1,015	22
Arizona	930	23	-----	-----	693	30	818	22	889	24	978	28
Utah	993	7	822	15	916	11	789	27	1,039	8	1,169	5
Nevada	770	40	-----	-----	-----	-----	504	45	783	37	829	44
PACIFIC	677	9	548	9	636	9	660	9	753	9	858	9
Washington	674	46	536	30	661	32	666	39	663	45	828	45
Oregon	673	47	595	28	-----	-----	602	41	606	47	817	46
California	679	45	555	29	626	35	670	37	787	36	878	40

[1] From data in Detailed Table I.

[2] District of Columbia included; not shown separately.

TABLE 42.—INDEXES FOR THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, FOR COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY DIVISIONS: 1920

[Ratio of children in cities of 100,000 and over in each division=100]

DIVISION	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				
	Cities				Rural districts
	100,000 inhabitants and over	25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants	10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants	2,500 to 10,000 inhabitants	
United States	100	112.8	126.8	128.6	147.0
New England	100	101.4	115.9	115.1	124.3
Middle Atlantic	100	128.3	153.7	153.9	166.8
East North Central	100	110.9	112.5	112.4	131.0
West North Central	100	106.0	111.6	123.1	164.1
South Atlantic	100	88.8	92.2	110.2	134.4
East South Central	100	83.7	100.2	114.9	148.3
West South Central	100	104.1	100.2	116.8	160.4
Mountain	100	112.9	112.5	133.1	171.8
Pacific	100	118.9	126.3	148.3	176.4

These tables show that not only the native white women but the foreign-born white women as well are affected by urban living. It has been pointed out elsewhere that the range of ratios is always less for foreign-born white women than for native white women. We observe that this is the case here and the explanation is not far to seek. Most foreign-born women come here with their attitudes toward family life fairly well established and they settle in a group of their own countrymen so that they are isolated (or insulated, if one prefers) from full contact with urban life even though living in the midst of a great city. Hence, the Old World habits of the foreign born largely dominate their actions with the result that voluntary restriction of the family and celibacy are not nearly so common among them as among the natives. Consequently we find rather high ratios of children to foreign-born white women in cities of every size, but there is a marked increase in these ratios as the size of the community decreases. The only exceptions are the South Atlantic and East South Central States and certain groups of the smaller cities (Table 42), and the proportion of foreign born in these States and groups is so small that their indexes can have little significance. In the whole United States the cities of less than 25,000 have a little over one-fourth higher ratio of children to all foreign-born white women than the cities of over 100,000 and the rural districts have a ratio almost one-half higher than the large cities. This shows beyond dispute that even the foreign-born white women are affected in their family life and rearing of children by the size of the community in which they live. There is the possibility, of course, that the death rate of the children of foreign-born mothers is so much greater in the large cities than in the smaller cities and rural districts that the number of survivors is materially reduced. A careful examination of the infant mortality rates in different communities and of the number of children born and surviving to mothers of the different nationalities does not, however, furnish any convincing evidence that lower infant and child mortality in the rural districts is by any means the chief factor in their higher ratios of children. Infant and child mortality are somewhat higher in the large cities than in the rural districts but not enough higher to account for the 47 point difference in the indexes of children which is shown in Table 42.

Not only is it the *average* tendency of foreign-born women in the United States to have fewer children as the size of the community in which they live increases, but it is almost the *universal* tendency in the Northern and Western States, where the foreign born constitute a considerable proportion of the population. Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Kansas are the only Northern States in which there is not a steady increase in ratios of children to all women as the size of the community decreases (Table 40). The ratios in Rhode Island and New Jersey are rather puzzling at first glance but probably are due to the occupational or nationality differences in immigrant groups as between the largest cities and the smaller places.

The situation in Kansas is interesting as affording a clear case of difference between "old" and "new" immigrants. Kansas City is the only place of over 100,000. It is a meat-packing city with a large body of Slavs working in the packing houses. Its ratio of children is so high that Kansas City ranks second in ratio of children to foreign-born women in the large cities. In the rest of Kansas, German and Scandinavian immigrants are dominant, but there are only a few of them and they are so well assimilated to the native population that even the rural ratio is somewhat less than that of Kansas City.

With these exceptions which are not difficult to understand, we find that everywhere in the North and West immigrant women show the same tendency as native women to lower their birth rate as the size of the community in which they live increases.

In another respect also the foreign-born women show the same tendency as the native women, namely, to eschew marriage to a greater extent in large communities than in small communities. (Table 43.) In the entire United States there is a steady increase in proportion of foreign-born white married women as the size of the community diminishes. The difference between cities of 100,000 and over and the rural districts is 8.5 per cent. This difference is considerably less (only about one-half) than that which we found among the natives but it is significant as furnishing further proof that the city begins to disorganize family life even among the foreign born, particularly among those who were children when they entered the country.

TABLE 43.—PER CENT OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED, FOR COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1920 [1]

[Per cent not shown where base is less than 100]

DIVISION AND STATE	PER CENT OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED					
	The State	Cities				Rural districts
		100,000 inhabitants and over	25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants	10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants	2,500 to 10,000 inhabitants	
UNITED STATES [2]	85.5	82.9	85.0	87.2	87.8	91.4
NEW ENGLAND	81.1	79.1	79.9	83.3	82.1	87.8
Maine	81.7	------	74.5	76.9	83.4	87.7
New Hampshire	80.2	------	75.3	82.1	81.3	89.3
Vermont	86.3	------	------	84.7	81.1	89.4
Massachusetts	79.0	77.1	78.9	82.4	81.3	85.7
Rhode Island	80.4	79.8	78.5	82.4	83.0	88.8
Connecticut	87.3	85.9	88.5	89.2	85.8	87.8
MIDDLE ATLANTIC	84.5	81.5	87.8	91.0	90.5	91.3
New York	81.0	79.9	85.9	87.1	84.9	86.9
New Jersey	88.2	88.6	87.2	87.0	87.5	90.2
Pennsylvania	90.0	84.9	91.4	94.6	94.3	93.9
EAST NORTH CENTRAL	89.0	87.6	89.7	90.1	90.2	93.0
Ohio	91.0	90.1	91.6	90.4	93.2	94.5
Indiana	91.7	86.2	93.5	91.7	89.4	90.4
Illinois	86.9	86.1	85.3	90.5	89.1	92.0
Michigan	89.8	87.8	90.9	88.7	91.1	93.5
Wisconsin	90.2	88.9	89.1	88.4	88.2	92.4
WEST NORTH CENTRAL	88.0	84.3	84.4	84.3	86.2	91.2
Minnesota	86.6	81.3	82.6	85.8	89.6	91.5
Iowa	88.3	82.1	85.8	85.3	83.9	91.1
Missouri	86.4	86.3	86.8	84.5	78.5	88.8
North Dakota	90.0	------	------	79.9	81.7	91.3
South Dakota	88.9	------	83.8	81.7	77.7	90.7
Nebraska	88.9	86.8	85.0	85.5	86.8	91.3
Kansas	90.0	92.4	83.8	84.1	88.1	91.5
SOUTH ATLANTIC	88.3	86.7	86.2	87.9	90.1	91.4
Delaware	89.6	90.0	------	------	95.5	86.6
Maryland	86.1	86.1	83.9	84.1	84.8	87.0
Virginia	89.2	87.0	90.0	88.3	92.6	90.7
West Virginia	94.9	------	87.2	90.2	93.2	97.6
North Carolina	80.4	------	80.2	84.6	88.4	75.6
South Carolina	86.9	------	86.2	88.4	87.4	87.1
Georgia	85.1	87.4	80.1	90.4	91.9	84.1
Florida	86.1	------	86.8	86.4	88.1	83.3
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL	86.9	85.7	81.4	86.6	88.7	90.6
Kentucky	84.1	81.9	80.9	83.5	87.4	88.0
Tennessee	87.3	85.9	85.2	(1)	93.1	90.4
Alabama	89.0	90.0	78.8	87.8	88.6	92.5
Mississippi	89.3	------	------	86.0	88.3	92.1
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL	85.0	82.2	80.2	77.9	84.7	89.1
Arkansas	83.9	------	81.3	79.5	75.2	88.1
Louisiana	85.0	80.4	81.9	84.6	88.2	92.7
Oklahoma	91.2	------	84.2	88.1	91.2	93.8
Texas	84.5	82.8	79.6	76.7	83.5	88.4
MOUNTAIN	90.4	83.9	87.5	84.5	88.8	93.6
Montana	91.2	------	87.6	84.6	89.2	93.9
Idaho	91.6	------	------	86.3	88.5	93.5
Wyoming	93.9	------	------	88.4	93.4	95.3
Colorado	90.1	83.9	88.3	87.3	91.6	94.7
New Mexico	90.4	------	------	83.3	85.8	91.7
Arizona	89.3	------	86.4	80.4	86.2	92.0
Utah	88.9	83.9	86.4	77.4	92.6	94.4
Nevada	93.3	------	------	86.8	95.5	94.7
PACIFIC	85.9	81.9	84.0	85.8	88.4	92.4
Washington	87.7	82.4	87.3	89.0	90.1	93.5
Oregon	86.6	82.9	------	85.2	88.4	92.7
California	85.2	81.6	82.7	84.8	88.0	91.8

[1] From data in Detailed Table II.

[2] District of Columbia included; not shown separately.

It follows from the differences in proportion of foreign-born married women in different sizes of communities that part of the differences in ratios of children to *all* women in these communities is due to their failure to marry rather than to the restriction of the size of family among the married. But in Table 44 where we have indexes for the ratio of children to foreign-born white married women we see that for the country as a whole there is the same steady decline in ratio of children as the size of the community increases as we have found elsewhere, although it is not as large as for all foreign-born women. The cities under 25,000 have a ratio one-fifth higher than that of the largest cities, and the rural districts, a ratio one-third higher. These are certainly significant differences and there is no good reason to doubt that they are the result of urbanism the same as similar, though larger, differences are among the natives.

TABLE 44.—INDEXES FOR THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE MARRIED WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, FOR COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY DIVISIONS: 1920

[Ratio of children in cities of 100,000 and over in each division=100]

DIVISION	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE MARRIED WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				
	Cities				Rural districts
	100,000 inhabitants and over	25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants	10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants	2,500 to 10,000 inhabitants	
United States	100	110.0	120.6	121.5	133.3
New England	100	99.9	109.9	110.8	111.9
Middle Atlantic	100	119.2	137.6	138.5	148.8
East North Central	100	108.3	109.3	109.1	123.6
West North Central	100	105.9	111.6	120.4	151.8
South Atlantic	100	89.5	91.0	106.1	127.5
East South Central	100	88.8	99.0	110.8	140.1
West South Central	100	107.0	105.7	113.5	148.2
Mountain	100	108.3	112.0	126.1	154.2
Pacific	100	116.1	120.4	137.4	156.6

It may be well to mention in this connection that the higher ratio of children among the foreign born in the smaller places is all the more significant in view of the fact that the new immigrants, except in certain mining communities, are found largely in the big cities (those of 100,000 and over) where the ratios of children are smallest.

In Table 45 we have indexes for ratios of children to all foreign-born white women 20 to 44 calculated by using a single base, namely, the ratio of children to all foreign-born white women in cities of 100,000 and over in the entire United States, for all areas and sizes of communities. These indexes enable us to compare the absolute size of ratios in these different groups. We see from these that the same general fact emerges as in the preceding tables. As the size of the community diminishes the ratio of children to foreign-born women

Table 45.—Indexes for the Number of Children Under 5 per 1,000 Foreign-born White Women 20 to 44 Years of Age, in Communities of Different Sizes, by Divisions: 1920

[Ratio of children in cities of 100,000 and over for the whole United States=100]

DIVISION	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				
	Cities				Rural districts
	100,000 inhabitants and over	25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants	10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants	2,500 to 10,000 inhabitants	
United States	100.0	112.8	126.8	128.6	147.0
New England	103.1	104.6	119.4	118.7	128.1
Middle Atlantic	99.0	127.0	152.1	152.3	165.2
East North Central	110.6	122.7	124.4	124.3	144.9
West North Central	93.1	98.7	103.8	114.6	152.7
South Atlantic	113.1	100.4	104.3	124.6	152.0
East South Central	92.0	77.6	92.2	105.7	136.5
West South Central	85.3	88.8	85.4	99.6	136.8
Mountain	84.5	95.4	95.1	112.5	145.2
Pacific	66.1	78.6	83.5	98.1	116.6

increases. Some of the southern divisions show irregularities but they are unimportant because of the very small numbers involved and the "white-collar" type of immigrants found there. One may say that among the foreign born as among the natives large cities invariably have low ratios of children.

This relation between size of community and ratio of children might turn out to be between density of population and ratio of children, if only we had an adequate measure for density. Since we do not have such a measure we will have to be content with the showing made here. It seems conclusive but it lacks precision. Whether greater precision would enable us to draw conclusions of greater value than those we can legitimately draw from the data here presented we can not tell.

COMPARISONS FOR NATIVE WHITE AND FOREIGN-BORN WHITE

In the smaller cities as in the larger cities the ratio of children to foreign-born women is largely in excess of the ratio of children to native women. Table 46 sums up all these differences. Once again we have the fact impressed upon us that the foreign-born women are individually contributing far more children to the next generation than the native women. There is some danger, however, that we will fasten our attention too exclusively upon the comparison of natives and foreign born in the same communities; although this comparison, as made in Table 46, is of great interest and is valuable as showing how the underlying rural-mindedness of the foreign-born population is withstanding the onslaughts of the cities on its birth rate. It is, beyond denying, important to know that the ratio of

FIGURE 10.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE IN COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES FOR THE UNITED STATES AND ITS DIVISIONS: 1920

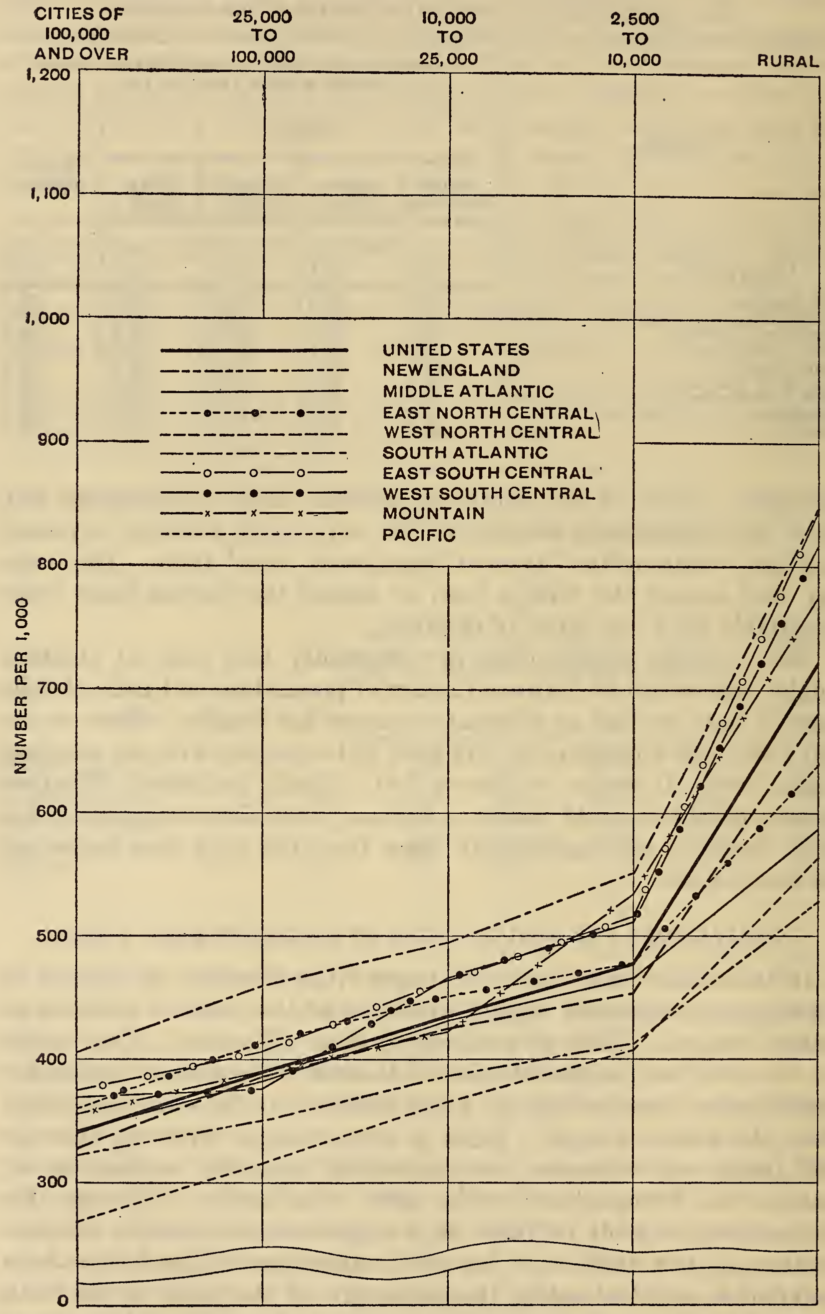
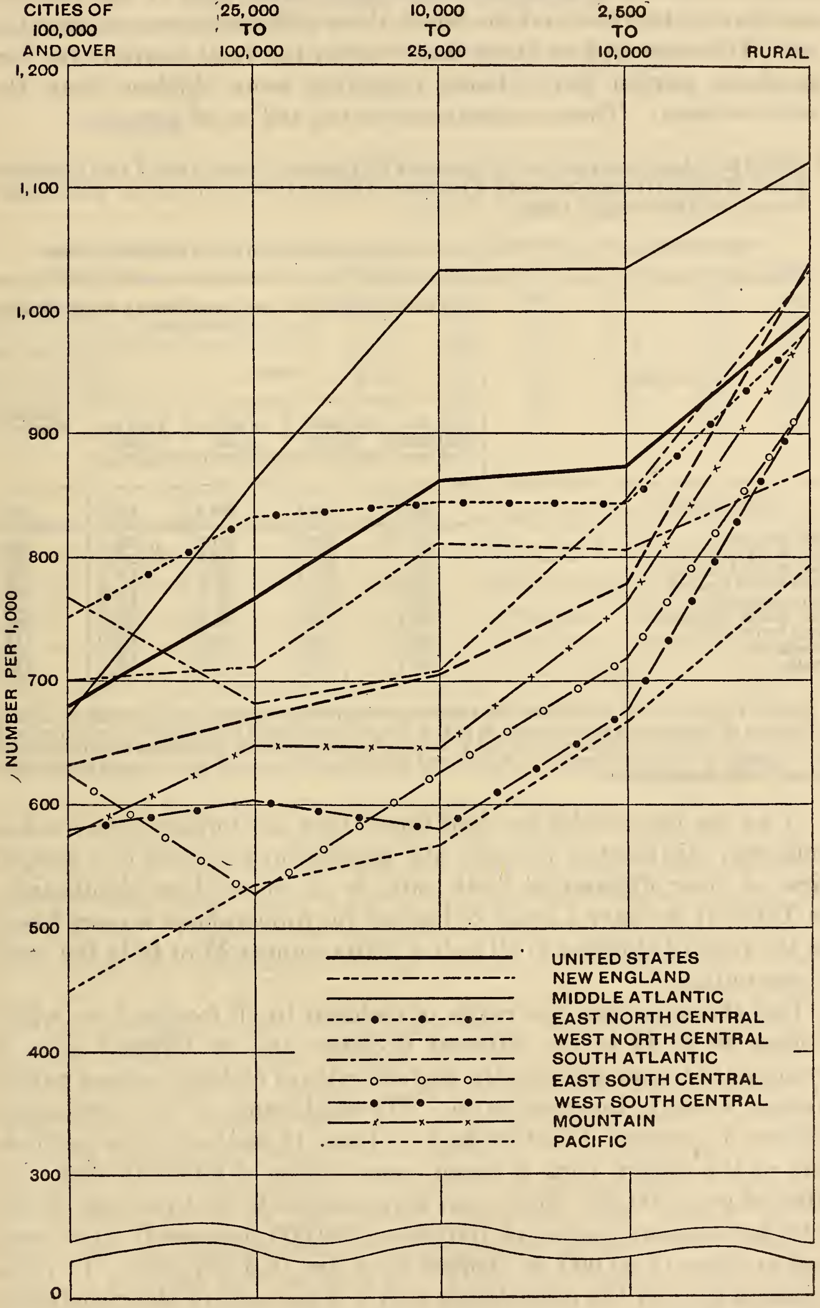


FIGURE 11.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE IN COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES FOR THE UNITED STATES AND ITS DIVISIONS: 1920



children to foreign-born women in all cities of 100,000 and over is practically twice that of the native women and that in the north-eastern States it is generally more than twice that of the natives; also that in the West and the South these differences are considerably less. It is also well to know that even in the rural districts the foreign-born women have almost two-fifths more children than the native women. These comparisons do not tell us *all* however.

TABLE 46.—INDEXES FOR THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, IN COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY DIVISIONS: 1920

[Ratio of children to native white women for the same area and size of community=100]

DIVISION	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				
	Cities				Rural districts
	100,000 inhabitants and over	25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants	10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants	2,500 to 10,000 inhabitants	
United States	199.1	196.4	198.4	183.0	138.4
New England	217.4	202 9	210.1	195.6	164.8
Middle Atlantic	196.5	226.2	239.7	221.9	190.6
East North Central	208.6	201.7	187.4	176.6	154.0
West North Central	192.7	174.0	166.3	171.7	152.5
South Atlantic	189.2	148.6	143.3	153.5	121.7
East South Central	166.7	129.8	135.2	139.1	109.6
West South Central	156.9	160.4	124.5	132.0	113.7
Mountain	161.2	166.2	152.7	142.8	127.2
Pacific	167.5	169.5	155.3	163.6	140.7

NOTE.—This table is to be read thus: In the entire United States in cities of over 100,000 the ratio of children to all foreign-born white women 20 to 44 is 99.1 per cent greater than the ratio of children to all native white women in the same cities, and in the Pacific States the ratio of children to all foreign-born white women in the rural districts is 40.7 per cent greater than the ratio of children to all native white women in the same districts.

If we are not careful we shall forget that the foreign born are not uniformly distributed through our population and that this fact, in view of their differential birth rate, is of tremendous significance. In Table 47 we have a series of indexes for foreign-born women based on the ratio of children to all native white women 20 to 44 in the rural communities.

This shows us how the ratios of children to all foreign-born white women 20 to 44 in the different divisions and in different sizes of communities compare with the highest ratio of children among native women, namely, the rural ratio. The significance of this comparison will begin to appear if we turn back to Table 13 and notice the distribution of the foreign born between communities of different sizes. In cities of over 500,000 the foreign born constitute 28.4 per cent of the total population; in cities of 100,000 to 500,000 they are 17.2 per cent; and in cities of 25,000 to 100,000 they are 16.9 per cent. In rural communities, on the other hand, only 6.5 per cent of the population is foreign born.

TABLE 47.—INDEXES FOR THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, IN COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY DIVISIONS: 1920

[Ratio of children to native white rural women=100]

DIVISION	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE					
	Area as a whole	Cities				Rural districts
		100,000 inhabitants and over	25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants	10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants	2,500 to 10,000 inhabitants	
United States	108.0	94.2	106.2	119.4	121.1	138.4
New England	103.6	97.1	98.5	112.5	111.8	120.7
Middle Atlantic	109.4	93.2	119.6	143.3	143.4	155.5
East North Central	112.5	104.2	115.5	117.2	117.1	136.5
West North Central	117.8	87.6	92.9	97.8	107.9	143.8
South Atlantic	115.3	106.5	94.6	98.2	117.3	143.1
East South Central	98.5	86.7	73.1	86.8	99.6	128.6
West South Central	105.1	80.3	83.6	80.4	93.8	128.8
Mountain	117.6	79.6	89.9	89.6	106.0	136.8
Pacific	80.7	62.3	74.1	78.6	92.4	109.8

Now if we turn to Table 47 again we find that the native rural women of the United States as a whole exceed the foreign born in all cities of 100,000 and over in ratio of children by 5.8 points and are exceeded in turn by the foreign-born women in cities of 25,000 to 100,000 by about the same amount, 6.2 points. Thus the native rural women have a slightly higher ratio of children than the foreign-born women in the two groups of larger cities combined. The full significance of this will be realized when we turn to Detailed Table I and find that of the total 3,190,820 foreign-born white women in the United States, 2,120,403, or 66.5 per cent, were living in cities of 25,000 or over and thus were raising fewer children per 1,000 than the 6,621,737 native white women in the rural districts. This leaves only 1,070,417, or 33.5 per cent, who are on the average raising more children than the rural native white women, and they are living in the smaller communities. Therefore, as compared with the native rural women in this country, the foreign-born women are not contributing much more than their share of children to the next generation. As a group they have 52.1 per cent as many children as the native rural women, although there are slightly less than one-half (48.2 per cent) as many of them. This certainly does not represent any great excess and will scarcely justify the very common belief that the native population as a whole is rapidly being swamped by the children of the foreign born. Furthermore, if we could compare the native farm population with the foreign born we should undoubtedly find that these women had a higher ratio of children than the foreign-born women, for we saw in Table 33 that the farm women as a whole had a higher ratio of children than the village women with whom they are combined to form the rural population in all of our nativity tables.

If we consider the further fact that just as the foreign born are far more numerous in the larger cities where their birth rate is lowest so the natives of foreign or mixed parentage are most numerous in the same places (37.6 per cent of the population of cities of over 500,000 belonging to this group, 28.2 per cent in places of 100,000 to 500,000, and 26.5 per cent in places of 25,000 to 100,000, while only 13.6 per cent are in this group in the rural population) we shall see that the contributions of the foreign born and their children to our population are not as large as is sometimes supposed. Indeed, there is good reason to believe that with immigration greatly reduced the chief contribution to our future increase of population is going to come from our rural population, which is largely of the old Anglo-Saxon stock, plus, in our northern agricultural communities, a goodly proportion of Germans and Scandinavians.

Apparently no better way to sterilize our new immigrants could have been devised than to have them settle in the big cities as they have done. Those who believe in the essential inferiority of the "new" immigrants should find in this situation matter for rejoicing. It is best, however, not to take much stock in the so-called proofs of racial inferiority of the new immigrants found in intelligence tests, in proportion in almshouses, in asylums, and in the menial walks of life. The lesson to be drawn from these data is that man has not yet learned how to live in cities and survive. The foreign born in the cities are not as far along the road to extinction as the natives, but their children in many cases are even nearer the dead line. This whole matter is discussed more fully later in this chapter.

NUMERICAL EFFECT OF DECLINE IN CITY BIRTH RATE

In the preceding sections of this chapter we have shown that there are very considerable differences in the ratios of children to women, both native and foreign born, in communities of different sizes. Perhaps the extent of the decline of the birth rate in the cities as compared with the rural districts can be made most apparent by calculations of the size of the populations that would arise on the assumption that the ratios prevailing in certain rural groups also prevailed in certain urban groups.

If the ratio of children for the 5,491,267 native white women 20 to 44 years of age in the cities of over 25,000 had been the same as the ratio for the native white rural women, the city women would have had 3,959,203 children instead of the 1,950,086 they actually had; for the 2,541,453 native white women 20 to 44 in cities of under 25,000 the number of children would have been 1,832,387 instead of 1,166,859. This would add a total of 2,674,645 to the children under 5 years of age in the native urban population of the country. Truly an enormous number, the significance of which can be better appreciated, perhaps, if the stationary population[2] this would maintain at given death rates is calculated. This 2,674,645 children under 5 would have maintained a stationary population of 32,964,000 at the death rates of 1920. This 32,964,000 is an enormous number, equal to the population of the New England and Middle Atlantic States in 1920, with a little more than one-half of Ohio added. But even this does not tell the full story, for to the stationary population thus arising from the excess of births due solely to the assumed higher birth rate of the present population, would be added all the births from within this group of nearly 33,000,000. This would mean, therefore, that within this cycle of approximately 80 years, the difference in births between the native women in the urban population and an equal number of native women in the rural districts, would, if maintained, not only add about 33,000,000 more to the latter group but that two full generations and a large part of the third in this new group would contribute their own children to swell its numbers. Suppose the descendants of the higher birth rate group retained their higher birth rate through the century, the total population at the end of this time resulting from this differential birth rate would be truly enormous.[3]

In this way we see the implications of a differential birth rate if it is long sustained. Such a birth rate will, in a comparatively short time—short as the life of a nation goes—result in a large proportion of the total population arising from that part of the population which has the greater fertility. Applied to this country this fact means that the descendants of our rural population are likely to predominate in the not distant future.

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[2] The term "stationary population" as used here means the number of people that would be alive at any time in a population having a certain number of births and a death rate such as that prevailing at a given time, assuming that this population is unaffected by emigration and immigration, and that sufficient time has elapsed to allow a normal distribution of ages. It would take approximately a century for such a population to attain its largest or stationary size if it were built up entirely by replacing a given number of infants in it annually beginning at a particular moment. Thus the 2,674,645 children under 5 referred to represent about 600,000 births annually. Now, if the native women in our larger cities had this number of births more than they actually do have and if these children were kept in a separate group, their number being recruited only by this addition of 600,000 infants annually, they would in time (about a century) grow to 32,964,000. Of course, since comparatively few people live beyond 80 years of age we can say that for practical purposes this population would attain most of its growth in that period or even in a somewhat shorter period.

The stationary population given here and in other parts of this chapter is calculated from special data furnished by the division of vital statistics of the Bureau of the Census. It is based upon the ratio of children to women in the aggregate population of the United States found in these special tables the results of which are summarized in Table 59 in Chapter VIII. The ratio of children per 1,000 women in a stationary population for the "total" as given there is 469 and the women 20 to 44 constitute 17.3 per cent of the total population. If we divide the excess of children obtained by the calculations given in the text (2,674,645) by the factor 469 and then divide the result by 17.3 per cent we get the total stationary population as given above.

The error involved in using the aggregate instead of the different nativity groups for certain communities is not large and since life tables for the different nativity groups are not available this is the best that can be done.

[3] The calculations necessary to state this difference in the numbers of two groups having different ratios in exact terms are too complicated to undertake here, but roughly they indicate that the descendants of the native rural women would outnumber those of an equal number of the city women by at least 75,000,000.

This is also shown if we compare the rural foreign born with urban foreign born. The 2,582,352 foreign-born urban women had 698,855 fewer children than an equal number of foreign-born rural women would have had and the stationary population these children would maintain at the death rates of 1920 is 8,613,000. This is but little less than the population of Canada in 1921. Truly the urban environment has a very depressing effect on the birth rate of the foreign born as well as on that of the natives, although the absolute level of the birth rate of the former is much higher than that of the latter by reason of the essential rural-mindedness of the foreign born even though they live in the cities.

This last point is one which can not be insisted upon too strongly in view of the current tendency to think that differences in race, nationality, or mental capacity are the chief factors influential in determining the differential birth rate. The current popular belief runs somewhat as follows: Inferior races, meaning generally Negroes (see following chapter) and new immigrants; backward national groups, meaning people without popular government, and those where there is little industry; and the mentally inferior are the only people who raise large families. Now it seems that the data presented here show that it is largely the environmental conditions which determine the size of families people are raising to-day and that general mentality has comparatively little to do with it. Consequently there is no basis for the assumption that the genetic quality of the stock of the United States is deteriorating appreciably with the existing rates of natural increase in different classes. It will be pointed out later that though there is good reason to regard the dying out of the prosperous classes with much concern, it is not because of the deterioration of the stock that may follow. This would be relatively unimportant. But the social consequences of having power pass to a class in the community which has a very slender biological stake, or none at all, in its future is a serious matter.

Before leaving the question of environment and its effect on the birth rate we wish to call attention again to Table 33 in the preceding chapter. This shows that for the whole United States, the village population had a ratio of children under 5 to women 20 to 44, 44.0 per cent greater than the city population and that the farm population ratio was in excess of that of the village population by 22.5 per cent and of the urban population by 76.4 per cent. To put this in terms of a stationary population again; with the same ratio that the farm women had, the urban women 20 to 44 would have had 4,021,026 more children than they did have, which would maintain a stationary population of 49,558,000 at the death rates of 1920. If we add to this the stationary population of 6,447,000 which could be maintained by the village women, if their ratio had been the same as that of the farm women, we have a total of 56,005,000.[4]

In the face of all these facts the differential birth rate in this country must be regarded as the resultant, in large measure, of the differences in living conditions between the cities and the country. We would not deny for a moment that there are individual differences in fertility and that they are important; we would not deny that many of the "submerged tenth" have relatively large families; but we do maintain that these facts are of minor importance. The fact of major importance in understanding our natural growth of population at the present time, is that there is a difference between urban and rural living which results in widely different rates of reproduction in these two groups.

REASONS FOR DIFFERENCES IN URBAN AND RURAL RATIOS

It is very pertinent to ask at this point whether this differential rate of reproduction between urban and rural groups will continue for any length of time. There can not be the least doubt that rural dwellers will more and more feel the effects of urbanism. It is steadily growing more pervasive. Will it be a matter of two or three decades only before urban attitudes of mind will be influential, perhaps dominant, everywhere, and the differences in rates of reproduction now existing between urban and rural communities will pass away? This question can not, of course, be answered categorically. We have seen that in those sections of the country where urban influence is most pervasive the rural population has much lower ratios of children than where urban influences are new and have not penetrated far into the rural hinterland. There can be little doubt, therefore, that as urban influences more and more completely permeate rural life there will be a rather rapid decline in ratios of children to women in some of the rural communities. It does not appear likely, however, that this decline will go as far as in the cities. There seem to be certain fundamental differences between urban and rural living which will always make for larger families in the country.

The first difference to be discussed is the one cited first by city people when they feel that they should have larger families but are explaining why they do not. They almost invariably feel that the cost of raising children in the city is so much higher than in the country that they must rigidly restrict the size of their families. There can be no doubt in anyone's mind that the money cost of a child, as a rule, is somewhat greater in the city than on the farm. This is necessarily so because the city dweller generally, must buy everything used by his family while the farmer and his wife can raise much of the food they use. Furthermore, the farm children themselves can contribute to the living of the family more easily and with less danger of harm to themselves than most city children can. If country parents are thrifty and train their children to be thrifty they can keep the money cost of their children considerably below the money cost of children of city parents up to a certain age, say through high school.

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[4] It is not implied that this great deficiency in our population actually exists because of the falling off of the birth rate in the urban population. This falling off is rather recent and has not yet had time to result in such a deficiency. What is meant is that if the conditions of 1920 were to continue long enough to allow the differential ratio of children in the rural and non-rural populations to develop fully, this great difference in the size of the two populations would result if each had, at the beginning of the period of differential growth, as many women 20 to 44 as there were in the combined urban and village populations in 1920. A great deal of what might have been a deficiency in numbers in the urban population has been supplied by immigration.

There is one thing in this connection that most city people apparently forget, however. This is that a large part of the difference in money cost of children in the city and in the country is due not merely to the differences in cost of the essentials of healthy living but fully as much to more expensive standards of living and increased requirements for dress and amusements general among city people. If the country people attempted to provide for their children on the same standard as city people there is reason to believe that there would be little or no advantage on the side of the ruralite. The country dweller, too, is likely to be content with a less elaborate educational equipment of his children for life than the city dweller. It is not that he cares less for his children but his environment is less complicated and he does not see the need for an expensive training to fit his children for it.

Another factor which is of much more significance than the economic factor is the different basis of organization of life in the city from that in the country. What is meant is that for most individuals city life is organized about one definite kind of work. This work makes certain definite requirements on the individual's time and energy but beyond this it does not rest on him as a continuous responsibility 24 hours a day and 365 days in the year. Of course, there are exceptions but this is true of most city dwellers. In the country, on the other hand, there is no set task to be completed in 7 or 8 hours, the rest of one's time being unencumbered. Stock and crops, like small children, are a 24-hour, 365-day responsibility. Country life finds a place in it for the weak and helpless and is organized to care for growing things which can not care for themselves.

There is no doubt that the person who is freed from continuous responsibility in getting his livelihood tends to keep from assuming more than is necessary in other directions. As a result families are likely to be kept small. When children are the only ties one has to a place or a job then there is probably a stronger urge to make those ties as few as possible than when children are only one of several ties, as in the case of the farmer whose stock and crops and fields as well as his children keep him fastened to a particular place and job.

The economy of the farm has a place for children. There are countless small tasks that they can do to help the whole to run smoothly. The family as we know it to-day is the outgrowth of rural life and it tends to drop many of its essential characteristics and bonds in the new environment of the city. One may say that city life to-day is organized about the working adult individual and for his benefit and pleasure. Country life is still organized about the family and so far as one can see is likely to be so for some generations. There is a definite place for children in country life; but in the city, in spite of all the playgrounds, schools, etc., of the city, there is no place really adapted to children's needs. Children were not and are not reckoned with in the development of modern cities. Our cities are built for and organized around commerce, industry, and adult recreation; and the provisions they make for children both in the home and outside of it are afterthoughts. In its fundamental organization the city does not yet recognize the child as a citizen in its community. This may seem an absurd statement in view of all that is being done in child welfare work in the cities in this "century of the child," but this work does not touch the heart of the problem of the child in the city. The best proof of the statement that the city of to-day has no place for the child is the fact that very few people recognize any such problem. Most people are so accustomed to think of the city in other terms that they never see it as a place for families; they never think of its possibilities for truly human living. This blindness to the true nature of city living seems likely to persist for some time and while it persists there is little reason to suppose that a differential birth rate will not continue to exist between city and country so that the country will furnish a disproportionately large share of our natural increase.

Closely connected with what has just been said is the question of what people in different communities consider the ultimate things worth striving for. In other words, are the realities of life any different for city people than for country people? It is our belief that they are. The atmosphere one lives in determines largely what he considers worth working for. Consciously or unconsciously most people in our cities hope to attain success, which being interpreted, means a high standard of living or consumption. Professor Carver defines a high standard of living as being measured by the number of things one prefers to marriage and children.[5] If it is true that a high standard of living, in this sense, is the ultimate reality in life for many people and especially for the more prosperous city dwellers, then, to most people, children are nothing but a hindrance in the attainment of success. Unfortunate as it may be, it is greatly to be feared that Carver's definition of a high standard of living is true to the facts of modern city life. If so, it is just one more proof of the statement made above that the city has no place for children in its organization. Not *life*, not *living*, but *things* constitute the ultimate realities of city life; definite, tangible, countable, cumulative *things* constitute the criteria of success and the proof that one has grasped and holds the ultimate reality.

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[5] Carver, T. N., The Economy of Human Energy, pp. 34, 35.

In the country there is also much striving for a high standard of living of this kind but it does not militate so strongly against raising a family of fair size as in the city. The preoccupation of country people is with living things and the realities of life are not unlikely to be the furthering of these growing processes. This is not to say that country people are more idealistic than city people, it is only pointing out that their daily tasks dispose them to accept children as essential realities and to make a place for them in their lives in a way not required by city living. The life processes in children are not essentially different from those in other organisms and the farmer's success, materially, depends upon his nurture of the life processes of the beings about him. It seems perfectly natural, therefore, that he should feel that the raising of a fair-sized family is not opposed to his being a good farmer and a successful citizen. He does not deal with inanimate things to the extent the city man does and he can and does include children in his list of realities in life worth working for, more often than the city man. Whether this will always be the case we shall not attempt to say but we believe it is a fact to-day and that it is likely to persist for some time. The influence of living close to nature, of working with natural processes in determining what one will consider worth working for, can not but be great, and can not be disregarded in considering the attitudes of rural dwellers toward the rearing of families.

No doubt another factor of some importance is the ease with which one can live comfortably in the city as a celibate. A man may live in comfort and even in luxury in the city as a bachelor, when on the same income with a wife and three or four children he would be close-pinched all the time. Add to this the fact that there is scarcely a job of any kind in the city at which one can not succeed more easily and quickly without a wife, to say nothing of children, and we can readily appreciate the reason for postponement of marriage, for small families after marriage, or for unions in which there is no intention of raising a family. The professions are very good examples of types of work at which one can undoubtedly make a greater success, other things being equal, if he does not marry and raise a family. The opposite is true in the country. There the bachelor does not find living easy. Without a wife and home maker he is lonely and uncomfortable and does not succeed any better for eschewing wife and family.

The desire for culture and travel which is an important force in the lives of many people in determining their attitude toward marriage and the family, is far more common in the city than in the country. No argument is needed to convince anyone that children stand in the way of the acquirement of certain aspects of culture and that they make travel quite impossible for the great majority of people. The leisure to read and to take an active interest in the arts, to meet people of like tastes and to cultivate familiarity with the cultural refinements of life, is greatly curtailed by the pressure of a fair-sized family in homes where the income is moderate. This applies especially to women.

Naturally, therefore, when the choice between what one may term biological success (the raising of enough children to insure survival, which under present conditions means the birth of three or four children) and the more conventional types of success, such as accumulation of property and the attainment of social and cultural prestige, is put up to people definitely, the latter is quite likely to be chosen. Almost nowhere in our present urban social organization is the social pressure of the community exerted in the interests of raising a family of sufficient size to insure the maintenance of even the present numbers. The attainment of biological success is not one of the common desiderata in present-day urban communities. It is still so to a certain extent in many rural districts, but the spread of urban influence is making it less so there. We can only record again the belief that in spite of the growing prestige of urbanism in the country, the very conditions of rural life will continue to instill into rural dwellers an unconscious appreciation of the essentialness of reproduction so that in spite of these outside influences they will continue to raise fair-sized families.

It will be seen from the above that we put comparatively little emphasis upon genetic differences between country dwellers and city dwellers. We do not believe that such differences exist to any very appreciable extent. There are probably selective forces at work determining, to a certain degree, who shall stay in the country and who shall go to the city, but these forces have not yet had time to issue in any very marked differences in these two groups of people even if they were not continually being interfered with by a host of fortuitous circumstances which have no relation to the genetic constitution of people. Consequently while one need not deny that a certain amount of selection enters into the choice of people moving toward the cities, one may take very little stock in the assumption of many city people that the selective process has brought the better types into cities. That some of the migrants to the cities are of superior capacity in certain respects will not be questioned by anyone, but that more than average ability in attaining the conventional successes of city life is proof of general hereditary superiority is open to question. To be unable and unwilling to make a satisfactory adjustment between the demands of nature, the attainment of biological success, and the demands of conventional success, is surely a failure with grave consequences because it means the dying out of the stock. Yet many people generally regarded as eminently successful do not raise enough children to reproduce themselves. Clearly people who become preoccupied with conventional personal success often do not have a strong enough racial urge to lead them to participate in the life of their times in the most complete manner possible to them. Is it reasonable to suppose that as a rule, such people have been selected from the mass of men because of all-round superiority? Or have they been selected for the possession of certain specialized qualities making for conventional success only? Or has chance played as large a part in putting them where they are as any rational selective process?

Again one should say that the fundamental differences between city life and country life are sufficient to account for the different attitudes toward reproduction found in the people of these two types of communities. Furthermore these differences will persist for a considerable time because they arise out of basic differences in environment. The country man may approximate more and more to the type of the city man but they will always have widely divergent attitudes on family life unless our cities are remade to permit of the retention of certain rural habits and attitudes of mind by city people. This is by no means an impossibility but there is little probability of remade cities in the near future. The will to remake the city will not assert itself until city people themselves can dispassionately revalue the purposes of life and place human living ahead of economic advantages and personal prestige. There is little indication now of any serious attempt on the part of city dwellers to appraise anew the things for which they are willing to work.

VII

MISCELLANEA

Several interesting points that have come to light in the course of this study which do not seem to fit into any of the preceding chapters have been brought together under this heading.

RATIO OF CHILDREN TO WOMEN IN UTAH

The ratio of children to native white women in Utah is so anomalous in every respect that it deserves special mention. Salt Lake City ranks highest among the cities of over 100,000 in ratio of children to all native white women and fourth in ratio of children to native white married women. It ranks 38 and 40, respectively, in these marital groups for foreign-born white women. (See Tables 20 and 21, Chap. III.) Ogden, the only city in the State having 25,000 to 100,000 population, ranks 2 in ratio of children to all native white women and 8 in ratio of children to native white married women. (Table 28, Chap. IV.) In ratio of children to all foreign-born white married women it ranks 64.

There is nothing unexpected in these rankings for the foreign-born white women so we need not consider them further. Turning to the ratios of children to native white women among the smaller communities (cities of 10,000 to 25,000, of 2,500 to 10,000, and the rural districts) we find that Utah ranks first both for all women and for married women in all these communities. (Tables 34 and 37.) Furthermore, if our comparison is by States, Utah also ranks first in the two groups of larger cities. That it does not rank first when the States, as wholes, are under consideration is due to the fact that it has a considerably larger urban population than some of the Southern States which approximate it rather closely in their rural ratios.

The difference between the cities and the rural districts in Utah is practically the same as elsewhere. In the rural districts the native whites have a ratio slightly more than twice as great as Salt Lake City and over three-fourths greater than Ogden.[1] Clearly, for all its conservative influence in Utah, religion can not stay the development of typically urban attitudes of mind in the modern city. Just as clearly, it does retard their spread. That Mormonism is the chief influence keeping the birth rate of Utah communities above that of the surrounding States can not be questioned. And Utah is the best example in the United States of a community in which religion does exercise a decided influence on the birth rate.

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[1] Calculated from data in Detailed Table I.

Various studies [2] show that there are differences in the birth rates of groups of different religious faith, but generally religion is so bound up with other factors that the data are not conclusive. For example, most of our so-called new immigrants to this country prior to 1920 (except the Jews) came from a rural group; they were poor, they had a low social status, and they were isolated from contact with natives. They were also Catholics. So, too, the Jews have all the characteristics commonly associated with a high birth rate in the city. It is impossible, of course, to say to what extent the birth rate of these new immigrants is due to their social and economic status and to what extent it is due to religious beliefs. In Table 25, Chapter III, we find that the French-Canadians and Irish, older arrivals, have much lower ratios of children than the Poles and Italians, recent arrivals, although both are Catholic groups. The Scandinavians in this table, except in New York City (which is not a very good example in any event), exceed the Irish and French-Canadians, and, in general, the Jews also. The Scandinavians are almost wholly Protestant.

It is impossible, therefore, in general, to tell much about the influence of religion on the birth rate, but in Utah the situation is less complicated than elsewhere and the difference in ratios of children to native white women between Utah and her neighbors can only be explained as resulting from the attitudes of mind inculcated by the Mormon religion. How long this influence will endure one can not say. Already in the cities its strength appears to be waning and it seems likely that before long the ratios in Utah will not be greatly different from those in the surrounding States. It appears very doubtful, then, whether any religion can long hold its professors to a high birth rate in the face of the manifest personal advantages of small families in our present urban civilization.

It is interesting, at least, that the clearest case of the influence of religion in keeping the birth rate high, which this study affords, is to be found among the old native stock and in a native form of religion.

RATIO OF CHILDREN TO WOMEN AMONG MINERS

It is shown in Table A, appendix, that English and Welsh miners had a higher birth rate than the other occupational groups listed there. We found that the same was true in 1920 in the United States for miners' wives who had births during that year. (Chapter I, Table 9.)

In Table 48 will be found the ratios of children under 7 to all women 18 to 44 years of age for the leading coal-mining counties of the United States. The change in the age groups of both children and women from the groups usually used was necessary because of the form in

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[2] Holmes, S. J., Size of Families of California Students, Journal of Heredity, October, 1924; Newsholme, Sir A., Vital Statistics, new ed. 1923, p. 103; Thompson, Warren S., Size of Families of College Students, American Statistical Association, December, 1925.

TABLE 48.—CHILDREN UNDER 7 PER 1,000 WOMEN 18 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE AND PER CENT OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITES, IN CERTAIN SELECTED COUNTIES IN THE UNITED STATES IN WHICH COAL MINING IS AN IMPORTANT INDUSTRY: 1920 [1]

[Exclusive of places with over 10,000 inhabitants]

STATE	Selected mining counties	Women 18 to 44 years of age	Children under 7 years of age	Children under 7 per 1,000 women 18 to 44 years of age	Percent of foreign-born whites
Total for selected counties.		317,454	358,484	1,129	
Alabama	Walker	9,643	10,229	1,061	0.7
Colorado	Huerfano	2,964	3,264	1,102	16.2
Illinois	Franklin, Williamson	20,401	20,205	990	11.9
Indiana	Sullivan	6,009	5,094	848	2.9
Kansas	Crawford	8,041	7,508	939	14.7
Kentucky	Harlan, Pike, Muhlenberg	20,806	25,165	1,210	2.0
Ohio	Belmont, Athens, Guernsey	26,521	26,262	990	11.2
Pennsylvania	*Bituminous*—Cambria, Fayette, Westmoreland.	86,458	108,316	1,253	20.2
	Anthracite—Lackawanna, Luzerne, Schuylkill.	80,379	87,945	1,094	20.9
Tennessee	Campbell	5,106	5,959	1,167	0.5
Utah	Carbon	2,555	3,286	1,286	25.9
West Virginia	Fayette, Kanawha, Logan, McDowell	46,287	53,106	1,147	4.9
Wyoming	Sweetwater	2,284	2,144	939	33.5

[1] Fourteenth Census Reports, Population, 1920, Vol. III.

which the data for counties are published. All cities of 10,000 and over have been omitted from these calculations because miners generally live in smaller places near their work. If the ratios for these mining counties are compared with the average for the United States, 743,[3] for all classes of the population, using the age groups just given, it will be seen that the lowest of these mining counties, Sullivan County, Ind., is 14.1 per cent above the average and the highest—Carbon County, Utah—is 73.1 per cent above the average for the United States. The average for all these mining counties is 52 per cent above that for the United States.

It should be remembered that since these ratios of children under 7 to women 18 to 44 include children 5 and 6 years old, or approximately two-fifths more children and only about one-tenth more women (those 18 and 19 years old) than we have had in the other calculations, they are, of course, higher (27.9 per cent) than the under 5, 20 to 44 ratios for the white population of the entire United States (581). This gives a fairly adequate idea of how the two ratios may be compared.

A comparison of these mining counties with certain other special groups will be instructive. In Table 49 the ratios of children to women for rural counties in various parts of the United States are given. These counties were selected because they had no urban population, that is, no city of over 2,500, and because they were almost wholly of native white population. The ratios for the highest of these native white rural counties, those in Alabama, Kentucky, and West Virginia, are above the ratio of the Scandinavian counties in Minnesota, calculated on the same basis (see Table 25), so they are probably among the highest strictly rural counties in the United States. Yet the average ratio in them (997) is 11.7 per cent less than that for the mining counties, although 34.2 per cent more than the average for the United States.

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[3] Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. III, Population, 1920, p. 34.

Table 49.—Children Under 7 per 1,000 Women 18 to 44 Years of Age in Certain Selected Native White Rural Counties: 1920[1]

[Exclusive of places of 2,500 inhabitants and over]

STATE	SELECTED RURAL COUNTIES			Women 18 to 44 years of age	Children under 7 years of age	Children under 7 per 1,000 women 18 to 44 years of age	Per cent of foreign-born whites
	Number of counties	Per cent of Negroes in individual counties[2]	Per cent of foreign-born whites in individual counties				
Total for selected counties.	-------	---------------	---------------	223,072	222,470	997	--------
Alabama	7	Less than 6	Less than 2	31,207	38,232	1,225	0.4
	3	More than 80	Less than 3	13,998	12,930	924	0.1
Colorado	7	Less than 1	Less than 6	11,255	11,925	1,060	4.0
Indiana Illinois Ohio	22	---------------	Less than 5[3]	62,573	53,282	852	2.4
Kentucky West Virginia	19	Less than 4	Less than 3	50,604	60,733	1,200	0.5
Kansas Iowa	10	Less than 2	do	18,261	14,706	805	1.8
Maine Vermont	4	Less than 1	Less than 8	10,793	8,317	771	6.0
Pennsylvania	9	Less than 2	Less than 10	24,381	22,345	916	2.6

[1] Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. III, Population, 1920.
[2] Direct comparisons between ratios for whites and Negroes can not be made because the omissions in the enumeration of children are not the same for the two races.
[3] With the exception of 1 county with 12 per cent of foreign-born whites.

In view of some of our other findings, for example, the relation between the proportion of women 20 to 34 and the ratio of children, it seems not unlikely that a larger proportion of miners' wives than of farmers' wives may be in the age group 20 to 34. We have no way of testing this hypothesis for these particular counties but the nature of work in mines makes it seem probable that miners and their wives will average younger than farmers and their wives. It would not take a great deal of difference in age constitution of the women in these two groups of counties (Tables 48 and 49) to account for their differences in ratios of children.[4]

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[4] See discussion in Chapter VI on birth rate as related to age at marriage.

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When we try to find reasons for the high ratio of children among miners in this country two facts stand out prominently. The first of these is that a good many of our miners, particularly those in Pennsylvania, are of foreign birth. The second is that, as a class, miners live an isolated rural life. Their mode of living leads to the retention of older rural family habits, where the wife stays at home and raises a family which grows without much, if any, voluntary restriction. As a general thing (there are exceptions of course) miners' wives can not get work outside the home. The fact that they do not foregather in factories and workrooms probably has a retarding effect on the dissemination of information regarding the means of family limitation. Furthermore, housing difficulties and the burdens of raising children in congested areas are not felt as heavily in small mining camps as in cities.

TABLE 50.—CHILDREN UNDER 7 PER 1,000 WOMEN 18 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE IN CERTAIN STATES SELECTED FOR HIGH AND LOW PROPORTIONS OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITES: 1920[1]

SELECTED STATE	NUMBER			PER CENT IN TOTAL POPULATION	
	Women 18 to 44 years of age	Children under 7 years of age	Children under 7 per 1,000 women 18 to 44 years of age	Foreign-born white	Negro
LOW PROPORTION OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITES					
Total	2,094,634	1,662,541	794	----------	----------
Idaho	80,611	75,512	937	9.0	0.2
Indiana	594,839	405,289	681	5.1	2.8
Iowa	488,301	348,091	713	9.4	0.8
Kentucky	470,032	409,467	871	1.3	9.8
New Mexico	67,225	65,426	973	8.1	1.6
Oklahoma	393,626	358,756	911	2.0	7.4
HIGH PROPORTION OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITES					
Total	5,026,149	3,177,205	632	----------	----------
Massachusetts	851,264	533,637	627	28.0	1.2
Rhode Island	131,333	85,986	655	28.7	1.7
Connecticut	293,609	211,958	722	27.3	1.5
New York	2,343,865	1,409,240	601	26.8	1.9
Minnesota	485,140	363,004	748	20.4	0.4
North Dakota	119,733	125,934	1,052	20.3	0.1
Arizona	66,240	56,769	857	23.4	2.4
California	734,965	390,677	532	19.9	1.1

[1] Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. III, Population, 1920.

Tables 50 and 51 are useful in comparing the mining counties and the native white rural counties. In Table 50 we have two groups of States, one with a very low per cent of foreign-born whites and very few Negroes and one with a high per cent of foreign-born whites and a few Negroes. The first group is also largely rural. The second group has both urban and rural States, the more rural being Minnesota, North Dakota, and Arizona, which are also the States with the highest ratios. When we compare these native rural States with the native rural counties in Table 49 we find that the ratio of the latter averages

25.6 per cent higher, while, as compared with the States having high per cents of foreign born, the rural counties are 57.8 per cent higher.

TABLE 51.—CHILDREN UNDER 7 PER 1,000 WOMEN 18 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE IN CERTAIN CITIES OF OVER 100,000 INHABITANTS SELECTED FOR HIGH AND LOW PROPORTIONS OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITES: 1920 [1]

SELECTED CITY	NUMBER			PER CENT IN TOTAL POPULATION	
	Women 18 to 44 years of age	Children under 7 years of age	Children under 7 per 1,000 women 18 to 44 years of age	Foreign-born white	Negro
LOW PROPORTION OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITES					
Total	233, 562	109, 458	469		
Columbus, Ohio	57, 064	26, 867	471	6. 8	9. 4
Dayton, Ohio	35, 797	19, 392	542	8. 6	5. 9
Des Moines, Iowa	31, 759	15, 427	486	8. 9	4. 4
Kansas City, Mo	85, 106	33, 509	394	8. 4	9. 5
Reading, Pa	23, 836	14, 263	598	8. 9	0. 9
HIGH PROPORTION OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITES					
Total	1, 515, 403	883, 818	583		
Fall River, Mass	26, 339	18, 980	721	35. 1	0. 3
Lowell, Mass	25, 905	16, 152	624	33. 7	0. 2
New Bedford, Mass	28, 137	17, 870	635	40. 2	4. 1
New York, N. Y	1, 349, 892	780, 375	578	35. 4	2. 7
Paterson, N. J	31, 237	17, 944	574	33. 2	1. 1
Providence, R. I	53, 893	32, 497	603	29. 0	2. 4

[1] Fourteenth Census Reports, Population, 1920, Vol. III.

In Table 51 we have two groups of cities of over 100,000. The first group consists of those having the lowest proportions of foreign-born whites and the second group of those with very high proportions. The latter have the higher ratios (24.3 per cent) as we should expect, but they are both low as compared with the rural counties, the mining counties, and the rural States. Again we find the large differences in ratios between urban and rural districts to which attention has so frequently been called.

The birth rate in different groups in the United States to-day is so largely determined by the different environmental conditions under which people live that race and nationality, except as they are intimately associated with certain environmental conditions, need not be given much thought. If environmental conditions hostile to growth, as some environments obviously are, become general, we may in the not distant future have occasion to worry over a stationary or declining population. If, on the other hand, conditions similar to those leading miners to raise large families should become general (this does not appear at all likely), then we may have to face the problem of overpopulation.

If ever we are to control population growth intelligently, it must be through the development of environmental conditions conducive to the proper rate of population growth from the right sources. More is said on this matter in Chapter IX.

RATIO OF CHILDREN TO WOMEN AMONG NEGROES

The ratios of children to all Negro women and to married Negro women are given in Table 52 for all States having 1,000 or more Negro women 20 to 44 years of age, and also for communities of different sizes.

The first facts to attract attention in this table are the very low ratios in practically all States outside of the South. Rhode Island is the only Northern State having a ratio of children to Negro women over 400, while in no State of the South is the ratio below 400. Clearly the Negro is not as prolific in the Northern and Western States as in the Southern States. One of the causes of this difference between the northern and southern Negro is obvious. In the North and West, the Negro is primarily an urban dweller and he has a strong tendency to congregate in the largest cities. This is seen clearly in columns A, B, C, and D of Table 52 where the total Negro population of each State and the numbers in cities of 100,000 and over, in cities of 25,000 to 100,000, and in rural districts are given. Column C of Table 53 gives the per cent of the total Negro population that is rural. The ratio of children to Negro women rises almost directly as the per cent of the total Negro population that is rural rises. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Arizona are the only conspicuous exceptions in this respect. In the two New England States the Negroes are largely urban and have fairly high ratios, while in Arizona the Negroes are largely rural and have a low ratio.

There is a very large range in the ratios of Negroes in the different States—much larger than the range among the whites of either nativity group. North Carolina ranks highest with a ratio of 798 and Minnesota ranks lowest with 242. (Table 53.) The former ratio is 3.3 times the latter. This is such a very large range that it suggests the probability of errors of considerable magnitude in reporting the numbers of Negro children and in the statement of age of Negro women. The fact that in a good many States and in the country as a whole, the number of Negro children 5 to 9 is greater than the number under 5 points to the same conclusion. But it does not seem likely that such errors are sufficiently and consistently biased in one direction in the North, and in the other direction in the South, to issue in the results we have here, for a careful inspection of the age groups among Negroes shows that the group 5 to 9 is almost consistently larger than the group under 5 in the South, while in the North it is just the other way about. The error in ages reported would, therefore, tend to minimize the differences in ratios between the North and the South rather than to exaggerate them.[5]

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[5] It is not unlikely that there really are more children 5 to 9 than under 5 among the southern Negroes in some localities due to the very rapid movement of young negro women to the cities which took place in the five or six years preceding 1920.

TABLE 52.—NEGRO POPULATION IN COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES AND CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NEGRO WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY MARITAL CONDITION, IN ALL STATES HAVING 1,000 OR MORE NEGRO WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY DIVISIONS: 1920 [1]

[Ratios not shown where base is less than 1,000]

DIVISION AND STATE	TOTAL NEGRO POPULATION				CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NEGRO WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE											
		Cities			All Negro women						Married, widowed, or divorced Negro women					
						Cities						Cities				
	Total for State	100,000 inhabitants and over	25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants	Rural districts	Total for State	100,000 inhabitants and over	25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants	10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants	2,500 to 10,000 inhabitants	Rural districts	Total for State	100,000 inhabitants and over	25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants	10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants	2,500 to 10,000 inhabitants	Rural districts
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P
UNITED STATES [2]	10,463,131	1,684,576	726,271	6,903,658	546	257	294	338	370	743	654	316	355	410	453	875
NEW ENGLAND	79,051	47,730	13,219	7,635	409	375	377	484	644	552	538	480	527	658	899	744
Massachusetts	45,466	31,075	6,936	1,842	399	367	391	392	677	730	536	477	579	599	988	933
Rhode Island	10,036	5,655	2,213	326	480	431	404	739	730	--------	630	558	568	924	928	--------
Connecticut	21,046	11,000	3,415	4,391	392	371	327	537	444	457	490	454	407	654	--------	618
MIDDLE ATLANTIC	600,183	375,780	61,933	82,751	297	255	289	391	367	501	383	330	378	481	477	634
New York	198,483	162,996	10,129	13,271	246	229	277	331	317	464	336	313	372	425	456	646
New Jersey	117,132	39,343	28,220	24,804	352	345	253	345	348	540	448	416	341	449	462	673
Pennsylvania	284,568	173,441	23,584	44,676	319	265	352	430	406	491	393	328	434	509	497	609
EAST NORTH CENTRAL	514,554	301,962	75,833	65,681	296	237	324	375	409	566	344	274	374	439	493	672
Ohio	186,187	113,669	17,241	30,212	330	265	361	441	421	597	385	370	417	516	518	718
Indiana	80,810	34,678	24,959	8,997	319	282	295	369	406	532	374	331	340	437	514	637
Illinois	182,274	109,458	23,610	20,546	260	201	323	330	384	518	304	235	379	385	448	606
Michigan	60,082	41,928	9,152	5,076	281	230	352	407	483	655	315	258	395	495	551	749
Wisconsin	5,201	2,229	871	850	316	242	225	426	--------	571	368	273	278	473	--------	713
WEST NORTH CENTRAL	278,521	138,108	19,910	65,930	308	221	315	341	368	563	367	261	367	413	449	682
Minnesota	8,809	7,303	495	559	242	220	252	--------	--------	--------	278	252	269	--------	--------	--------
Iowa	19,005	5,512	4,005	3,660	379	345	335	359	434	508	434	403	366	415	508	587
Missouri	178,241	100,573	6,614	44,074	281	200	267	312	317	576	340	240	314	397	396	695
Nebraska	13,242	10,315	896	1,121	270	243	296	--------	414	529	306	274	351	--------	465	626
Kansas	57,925	14,405	7,817	15,829	399	326	359	363	466	539	470	366	431	430	551	667

SOUTH ATLANTIC	4,215,154	279,297	351,233	3,180,749	661	289	301	369	393	828	800	365	366	458	486	989
Delaware	30,335	10,746		17,343	477	268			410	676	616	368			523	829
Maryland	244,479	108,322	2,942	119,970	484	295	399	367	412	794	610	380	522	494	527	963
Virginia	690,017	97,433	68,590	480,883	637	306	359	359	431	844	799	394	450	475	554	1,045
West Virginia	86,345		10,266	63,861	502		271	362	408	577	582		347	461	505	644
North Carolina	763,407		55,982	608,242	798		352	404	494	946	1,006		449	518	639	1,185
South Carolina	864,719		46,781	748,230	761		301	363	392	858	922		371	445	498	1,033
Georgia	1,206,365	62,796	93,947	933,329	638	256	245	315	364	797	744	302	291	371	438	921
Florida	329,487		72,725	208,891	483		290	508	312	629	553		335	598	368	710
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL	2,523,532	207,131	90,278	1,952,216	572	249	266	304	348	693	675	295	319	368	430	812
Kentucky	235,938	40,087	16,354	130,545	421	215	254	269	323	607	518	271	318	335	411	724
Tennessee	451,758	96,814	30,191	281,294	496	224	261	333	356	719	593	269	309	418	444	852
Alabama	900,652	70,230	43,733	703,819	611	305	274	353	395	729	724	346	327	411	471	869
Mississippi	935,184			836,558	615			275	317	669	713			338	391	768
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL	2,063,579	189,150	104,152	1,528,297	544	258	263	295	343	673	631	310	309	348	405	772
Arkansas	472,220		21,061	398,628	552		250	251	312	621	621		298	286	358	693
Louisiana	700,257	100,930	17,485	509,844	557	293	248	299	388	688	662	368	291	363	467	805
Oklahoma	149,408		24,314	101,504	569		299	359	364	736	647		351	418	420	824
Texas	741,694	88,220	41,292	518,321	523	221	255	292	325	698	607	253	297	344	387	799
MOUNTAIN	30,801	6,793	3,958	14,123	264	195	270	252	290	329	298	227	308	294	318	358
Colorado	11,318	6,075	2,404	1,954	258	194	297		345	441	300	228	345		373	498
Arizona	8,005		1,075	5,374	268		233	210	259	317	292		259		279	339
PACIFIC	47,790	28,659	5,755	6,276	271	223	312	363	332	457	317	259	376	436	398	524
Washington	6,883	3,621	1,088	1,101	268	203	338		318	433	302	228	385		369	477
California	38,763	23,482	4,667	4,875	273	227	307	367	339	456	322	265	374	441	409	528

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[1] Columns E to P from Detailed Table I; columns A to D from Fourteenth Census, Vol. II, pp. 90–100.

[2] Total figures for the United States and the divisions are used, even though, as in the New England division, not all the individual States have enough Negro women 20 to 44 to appear separately. District of Columbia is included in the United States as a whole only.

NOTE.—The ratios given here and in the other tables in this section on Negroes are based on the actual data given in the census unless otherwise stated. They should not be compared with the ratios for whites because the omissions of young children from the census count are probably quite different in the two races. The ratios of children in different groups of Negroes can be compared, however, with a fair degree of accuracy. At a number of points, however, the data for Negroes indicate that there are omissions of children or misstatements of age of women for which we have no means of correction. The best that can be done is to make some allowances of a general nature. This is done at certain points in the text.

TABLE 53.—STATES ARRANGED ACCORDING TO RATIO OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 TO NEGRO WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE WITH PER CENTS AND RATIOS FOR CERTAIN OTHER FACTORS: 1920 [1]

[States having less than 1,000 Negro women 20 to 44 years of age are omitted]

STATE	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NEGRO WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE		Per cent of total Negro population that is rural	Per cent of total population that is Negro	Per cent of all Negro women that are 20 to 34 years of age	Per cent of Negro women who are married, widowed, or divorced
	All women	Married, widowed, or divorced women				
	A	B	C	D	E	F
North Carolina	798	1,006	79.7	29.8	23.7	79.3
South Carolina	761	922	86.5	51.4	24.3	82.5
Georgia	638	744	77.4	41.7	25.7	85.8
Virginia	637	799	69.7	29.9	24.5	79.7
Mississippi	615	713	89.5	52.2	25.2	86.2
Alabama	611	724	78.1	38.4	24.9	84.4
Oklahoma	569	647	67.9	7.4	26.7	87.8
Louisiana	557	662	72.8	38.9	26.6	84.1
Arkansas	552	621	84.4	27.0	26.9	89.0
Texas	523	607	69.9	15.9	28.8	86.2
West Virginia	502	582	74.0	5.9	31.9	86.3
Tennessee	496	593	62.3	19.3	27.1	83.6
Maryland	484	610	49.1	16.9	27.1	79.3
Florida	483	553	63.4	34.0	28.9	87.4
Rhode Island	480	630	3.2	1.7	24.7	76.1
Delaware	477	616	57.2	13.6	25.6	77.5
Kentucky	421	518	55.3	9.8	26.9	81.4
Kansas	399	470	27.3	3.3	26.8	84.9
Massachusetts	399	536	4.1	1.2	30.4	74.5
Connecticut	392	490	20.9	1.5	30.0	79.9
Iowa	379	434	19.3	0.8	30.4	87.3
New Jersey	352	448	21.2	3.7	31.0	78.6
Ohio	330	385	16.2	3.2	33.9	85.7
Pennsylvania	319	393	15.7	3.3	34.1	81.1
Indiana	319	374	11.1	2.8	31.2	85.2
Wisconsin	316	368	16.3	0.2	35.8	85.8
Missouri	281	340	24.7	5.2	31.6	82.7
Michigan	281	315	8.4	1.6	41.8	89.1
California	273	322	12.6	1.1	30.7	84.9
Nebraska	270	306	8.5	1.0	36.2	88.1
Arizona	268	292	67.1	2.4	38.5	91.9
Washington	268	302	16.0	0.5	29.2	88.8
Illinois	260	304	11.3	2.8	35.4	85.5
Colorado	258	300	17.3	1.2	28.7	86.0
New York	246	336	6.7	1.9	39.2	73.2
Minnesota	242	278	6.3	0.4	34.0	87.0

[1] Columns A and B from Detailed Table I; column C calculated by subtraction from data on p. 88, Fourteenth Census, Vol. II; Population, 1920; column D from p. 33, Vol. II; column E calculated by addition of per cents from pp. 189–285, Vol. II; column F from Detailed Table II.

It appears, then, that in the Northern States where the Negroes are urban, they have exceedingly low ratios, much lower than the whites in the same areas (see Table 11), while in the Southern States, where most of the Negroes live in the country, the ratios are high, probably higher than those of the whites in the same area. A comparison of the ratios of children to Negro women with the ratios of children to native white women in certain areas is given in Table 54. In all of the cities listed the ratio of children to native white women is over one-third greater than the ratio to Negro women. The differences are even greater in the northern cities. The Northern States likewise show much greater differences than the Southern States. Indeed, in several of the Southern States, considered as wholes, the differences are so slight that they have very little, if any, significance. In the rural parts of the States the Negro ratio approaches that of the native whites fairly closely except in three or four States and even exceeds it in some of the Southern States. In general, the ratio of children among the rural Negroes is fairly high except in some of the Northern States where the number of rural communities is exceedingly small, too small to be of much significance.

Table 54.—Children Under 5 per 1,000 Women, for Native White and for Negro Women 20 to 44 Years of Age, and Per Cent Ratio of Children to Native White Women Exceeds Ratio of Children to Negro Women in Certain States and Cities Arranged According to Ratios for Negro Women: 1920[1]

[Ratios not shown where base is less than 1,000]

STATE AND CITY	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				PER CENT RATIO FOR NATIVE WHITE WOMEN EXCEEDS RATIO FOR NEGRO WOMEN	
	Native white women		Negro women		Entire State or city	Rural part of State
	Entire State or city	Rural part of State	Entire State or city	Rural part of State		
STATES						
North Carolina	827	910	798	946	3.5	−3.8
South Carolina	777	872	761	858	2.1	1.6
Georgia	731	869	638	797	14.5	9.0
Virginia	688	809	637	844	8.0	−4.1
Mississippi	740	813	615	669	20.3	21.5
Alabama	786	894	611	729	28.6	22.6
Kansas	574	663	399	539	43.8	23.0
Ohio	482	633	330	597	44.0	6.0
Missouri	510	685	281	576	81.5	18.9
California	341	501	273	456	24.9	9.9
Illinois	450	618	260	518	73.0	19.3
New York	362	494	246	464	47.1	6.5
Minnesota	538	687	242	----------	122.3	----------
CITIES						
Birmingham	431	----------	305	----------	41.3	----------
New Orleans	396	----------	293	----------	35.1	----------
Philadelphia	370	----------	259	----------	42.8	----------
Atlanta	377	----------	256	----------	47.2	----------
New York City	316	----------	228	----------	38.6	----------
Chicago	332	----------	201	----------	65.0	----------

[1] From Detailed Table I.

In view of the fact that the omissions of Negro children under five from the census count is probably considerably greater than that of white children, the situation can be quite accurately summed up as follows: In the South, except in the cities, the ratio of children to Negro women is probably greater than among the white women, but in the North this is not the case, except possibly in the rural population of a few States. In the cities, both in the North and the South, the Negroes have much smaller ratios of children than the whites, even when due allowance is made for omissions. City life seems to have an even more depressing effect on the Negro birth rate than on that of the whites.

TABLE 55.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NEGRO WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY MARITAL CONDITION, AND PER CENTS FOR CERTAIN OTHER FACTORS, IN CITIES OF 25,000 INHABITANTS AND OVER HAVING 2,000 OR MORE NEGRO WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE: 1920 [1]

[Cities arranged according to ratios of children to negro women]

CITY	NEGRO WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE: Children under 5 per 1,000 negro women: All women	NEGRO WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE: Children under 5 per 1,000 negro women: Married, widowed, or divorced	NEGRO WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE: Per cent married, widowed, or divorced	Per cent of all Negro women that are 20 to 34 years of age	Per cent of total population that is Negro
	A	B	C	D	E
Miami, Fla	442	530	83.3	39.0	31.3
Wilmington, N. C	400	499	80.2	30.5	40.3
Portsmouth, Va	384	454	84.5	33.7	42.7
Roanoke, Va	376	489	77.0	34.8	18.4
Charlotte, N. C	364	459	79.3	34.3	31.6
Lynchburg, Va	358	490	73.1	29.4	27.7
Petersburg, Va	355	469	75.7	32.3	43.9
Kansas City, Kans	326	366	89.1	30.3	14.2
Newark, N. J	323	386	83.6	35.9	4.1
Dayton, Ohio	323	366	88.1	33.5	5.9
Richmond, Va	321	427	75.1	32.9	31.5
Charleston, S. C	317	387	82.0	35.0	47.6
Winston-Salem, N. C	314	404	77.8	39.2	42.8
Newport News, Va	312	381	81.8	39.5	39.5
Beaumont, Tex	312	353	88.4	38.0	32.7
Tulsa, Okla	306	368	83.2	38.1	12.3
Birmingham, Ala	305	346	88.1	35.8	39.3
Columbus, Ohio	301	355	85.0	35.1	9.4
Baltimore, Md	295	380	77.6	34.2	14.8
New Orleans, La	293	368	79.7	33.0	26.1
Pensacola, Fla	291	339	86.0	32.9	33.5
Norfolk, Va	287	356	80.7	36.4	37.5
Pittsburgh, Pa	286	336	85.2	34.4	6.4
Knoxville, Tenn	283	345	82.0	32.2	14.5
Indianapolis, Ind	282	331	85.1	33.4	11.0
Mobile, Ala	281	332	84.8	33.4	39.3
Columbus, Ga	280	342	82.1	33.7	29.2
Boston, Mass	276	365	75.8	33.9	2.2
Jacksonville, Fla	270	308	87.9	36.8	45.3
Wilmington, Del	268	368	72.9	31.6	9.8
Columbia, S. C	266	336	79.0	36.8	38.5
Montgomery, Ala	264	321	82.3	42.3	45.6
Washington, D. C	263	353	74.4	32.1	25.1
Nashville, Tenn	262	322	81.2	41.3	30.1
Lexington, Ky	259	327	78.9	30.2	30.0
Philadelphia, Pa	259	325	79.7	37.6	7.4
Atlanta, Ga	256	302	84.7	37.2	31.3
Oklahoma City, Okla	254	292	86.8	38.8	9.0
Macon, Ga	254	288	88.1	35.3	43.6
Cleveland, Ohio	253	288	87.9	42.6	4.3
Augusta, Ga	248	299	82.9	34.4	43.0
Shreveport, La	248	291	85.5	37.3	39.9
Chattanooga, Tenn	248	289	85.7	37.9	32.6
Cincinnati, Ohio	247	294	83.9	35.5	7.5
Little Rock, Ark	244	290	84.2	36.6	26.8
Omaha, Nebr	243	274	88.5	37.2	5.4
Tampa, Fla	242	286	84.6	37.7	22.3
San Antonio, Tex	242	282	85.6	37.0	8.9
Savannah, Ga	231	278	83.1	38.7	47.1
Los Angeles, Calif	230	269	85.6	32.6	2.7

[1] Columns A and B, Detailed Table I; column C, Detailed Table II; columns D and E, Fourteenth Census Reports Vol. II, Population, 1920.

TABLE 55.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NEGRO WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY MARITAL CONDITION, AND PER CENTS FOR CERTAIN OTHER FACTORS, IN CITIES OF 25,000 INHABITANTS AND OVER HAVING 2,000 OR MORE NEGRO WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE: 1920—Continued

CITY	NEGRO WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE			Per cent of all Negro women that are 20 to 34 years of age	Per cent of total population that is Negro
	Children under 5 per 1,000 negro women		Per cent married, widowed, or divorced		
	All women	Married, widowed, or divorced			
	A	B	C	D	E
New York, N. Y.	228	313	72.8	41.6	2.7
Detroit, Mich.	227	254	89.5	47.6	4.1
Fort Worth, Tex.	226	265	85.2	40.3	14.9
St. Louis, Mo.	217	259	83.8	36.2	9.0
Houston, Tex.	216	247	87.3	37.5	24.6
Louisville, Ky.	215	271	79.2	33.2	17.1
Dallas, Tex.	213	239	89.3	38.9	15.1
Galveston, Tex.	208	246	84.6	38.2	22.3
Memphis, Tenn.	205	243	84.4	37.4	37.7
Chicago, Ill.	201	235	85.5	39.7	4.1
Atlantic City, N. J.	177	232	76.0	35.4	21.6
Kansas City, Mo.	162	198	82.0	38.3	9.5

In Table 55 all the cities of over 25,000 inhabitants having 2,000 or more Negro women 20 to 44 years of age are listed according to the ratio of children to Negro women. The highest ratio here is 442 in Miami, Fla., and the lowest is 162 in Kansas City, Mo.

There appears to be a considerable difference between northern and western, and southern cities in ratio of children to Negro women. Of the 10 cities having the highest ratios, 7 are small southern cities and 3 are northern cities; of the next 10, only 1 is in the North. Thus 16 out of the first 20 are southern cities. Of the 20 having the lowest ratios, on the other hand, only 11 are southern cities. Among the Negroes as among the whites there seems to be a slight tendency for the southern cities to have higher ratios of children than the northern and western cities. How confused the situation is, however, can be shown by some concrete examples: Chicago is just barely lower than Dallas, Memphis, and Galveston; Savannah is just barely higher than Los Angeles and New York; while Fort Worth stands between Detroit and St. Louis, and Atlanta is lower than Philadelphia. Clearly urban living both in the North and the South results in a great reluctance on the part of Negro women to bear children.

Before attempting to set forth the reasons for the very low ratios of children to Negro women in the cities and to evaluate them, we shall point out their significance from the standpoint of a stationary population.

RATIOS NECESSARY FOR MAINTENANCE OF POPULATION

In Table 59 in Chapter VIII, we find that in States of the registration area having less than 4 per cent Negroes it would take a ratio of 361 children per 1,000 Negro women 20 to 44 years of age to maintain the population with its present age and sex constitution and with the death rates of 1920. By comparing this with the ratios in Table 53, column A, we find that there are 15 States having fewer than enough children to maintain their numbers with present age and sex constitution and 1920 death rates. Nearly all of these are Northern or Western States with comparatively small Negro populations, although New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, Illinois, and Missouri have considerable numbers. Missouri is the only one of these 10 having over 4 per cent of Negroes in its total population. In States having over 5 per cent Negroes, on account of less favorable age and sex constitution, it takes a ratio of 418 children per 1,000 Negro women 20 to 44 years of age to maintain their numbers temporarily. All the States, except Missouri, having over 5 per cent Negroes exceed this figure. The Southern States in particular have a substantial excess over the ratio needed for temporary maintenance, and due to the considerable omissions of Negro children the margins are greater than they appear here. It is also probable that it is only because of these omissions that the ratios shown by some of the Northern States are not high enough to maintain the Negro population.

For permanent maintenance, the States with less than 4 per cent Negroes need a ratio of 572 children per 1,000 women; and no State in this group exceeds 481. The States with over 5 per cent Negroes need a ratio of 576. Only six of the Southern States exceed this figure. It is clear then that even when allowance is made for considerable underenumeration of Negro children the Negroes in the United States outside the rural South are raising only enough children to add slightly to their numbers under present conditions, but not enough to maintain them when age and sex groups become adjusted to the present birth rate.[6]

In the cities the situation is even worse. In the large cities for which life table data are available in 1920, it took 328 children per 1,000 Negro women to maintain their population temporarily. Table 55 shows that there were only seven of the cities having 2,000 or more Negro women 20 to 44 in which a ratio as high as 328 prevailed. The majority of these are rather small southern cities. For permanent maintenance in a stationary population, the ratio would be 744 and none of them exceeds 442. Thus, even taking into consideration the underenumeration of young Negro children there can be no reasonable doubt that in 1920 there were not enough Negro children in most of the larger cities to maintain the Negro population if migration to them had ceased at that time. In the near future the cities may be expected to show an even greater deficiency.

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[6] See Chap. VIII for meaning of temporary and permanent replacement.

It will be well to call attention to the fact that since 1920 the vital statistics of the United States indicate a rise in the urban Negro birth rate for the period 1920–1924 as compared with 1915–1919, also a decline in the death rate, especially in the infant mortality rate. The decline in the death rate can be readily accounted for in view of the progress of the public health movement. The increase in the birth rate is less easily explained. One factor may be the increasing accuracy of birth registration. Of course, any rise due to this factor is purely fictitious. But probably the generally disturbed conditions of the four or five years preceding 1920 resulted in fewer births than would have taken place under more normal conditions. This deficiency would naturally be made up to a certain extent with the return to more normal times. Consequently it may well be that the ratios of children to Negro women in 1920 are too low to be considered normal at that time. The Negroes in the northern cities were particularly upset in the period 1915–1919 because of the great migration from the South, the large number of the younger men in the Army, and the general uncertainty surrounding their life in a new environment. This would undoubtedly have a depressing effect on the birth rate.

When all the various factors are taken account of it appears to be urban living rather than latitude that is playing havoc with the reproductive life of city-dwelling Negroes at the present time. This is also shown in Table 52 where the ratios of children to Negro women in communities of different sizes are given. With very few exceptions the ratio of children to Negro women rises as the size of the community decreases. Everywhere the rural population has the highest ratio; and with the exception of the Northern and Western States, where it is quite small, the rural population has an excess over the needs for permanent maintenance (576).

Thus we find that Negroes, like whites, but even more rapidly, are losing their reproductive vitality by living in cities. For the Negro to leave the *rural South* means that he has taken a long step toward becoming sterile.

SURVIVAL RATES FOR WHITES AND NEGROES

As we have shown, the ratio of children to Negro women is generally lower than among whites except in the rural South. One of the important reasons for the lower ratios among Negroes is their higher death rate. Table 56 gives data showing the differences in survival rates of whites and Negroes in certain comparable areas.

Negroes everywhere have a much higher death rate than the whites among whom they live. The largest difference in this respect appears in the large cities group where at 7 years of age 85.4 per cent of the possible number of whites will be alive, while only 75.4 per cent of the possible number of Negroes will be living. The difference is least in the rural South. Using North Carolina as typical for the whites in the South, the per cents for the whites and Negroes are 88.9 per cent and 83.7 per cent, respectively. Parenthetically, it may be mentioned that the least difference between whites and Negroes is that between the Negroes of the rural South with 83.7 per cent surviving at age 7 and the aggregate whites in the 14 large cities with 85.4 per cent.

TABLE **56.**—NUMBER OF SURVIVORS AT DIFFERENT AGES FROM 100,000 BORN AT A GIVEN TIME FOR CERTAIN COMPARABLE NEGRO AND WHITE POPULATION GROUPS: 1920 [1]

Item	SURVIVORS AT GIVEN AGES		
	At 1 year	At 2 years	At 7 years
Whites in 14 large cities	90,476	88,481	85,355
Negroes in 12 large cities	84,560	80,346	75,364
Whites in Original Registration States	90,757	89,050	86,411
Negroes in Original Registration States	85,505	81,494	77,109
Whites in North Carolina	92,730	90,876	88,947
Negroes in States having more than 5 per cent Negroes	89,081	86,746	83,695

[1] Bureau of the Census, United States Abridged Life Tables, 1919–20, p. 16.

This difference in survival rate of whites and Negroes and (taking into consideration the greater underenumeration among Negroes in the rural South) is sufficient to account for most of such differences in the ratios in these two groups as were found in this section of the country. It appears that in the rural South the birth rate of the Negroes is about the same as or even a little higher than that of the whites, but since among them fewer children survive to 5 years of age than among the whites the ratio of children to women among the latter is sometimes higher. The differences between the ratios of whites and Negroes in the cities is, however, too great to be accounted for by the differences in death rates just mentioned or by underenumeration. In the cities the Negro women do not bear as many children as the native white women.

HIGH PROPORTION OF NEGRO WOMEN GAINFULLY EMPLOYED

A number of factors help to bring about these very low ratios of children to Negro women in the cities. One of these undoubtedly is the high proportion of Negro women engaged in gainful occupations, especially in domestic and personal service. The per cent of them gainfully employed is much larger than for any group of white women. In the United States in 1920, of the native white women of native parentage 20 to 44 years of age, 22 per cent were gainfully employed; of the native white women of foreign or mixed parentage, 30.7 per cent; of the foreign-born white women, 21.4 per cent; and of Negro women, 45 per cent.[7] Of all the gainfully employed women 10 years of age and over in these different nativity and race groups, 9 per cent of the native whites of native parentage, 8.7 per cent of the native whites of foreign or mixed parentage, 21.1 per cent of the foreign-born whites, and 33.1 per cent of the Negroes, were women 20 to 44 years of age engaged in domestic and personal service.[8] From this we see that the Negro women have less opportunity to keep homes of their own than any other group; hence they find children a great burden. Assuming that knowledge of the methods of birth control is more easily secured by Negroes in the cities than in the country there is little to occasion surprise at the small families among a large proportion of the Negro women in our cities.

OTHER FACTORS

Among the Negroes in the cities there appears to be a slightly inverse relation between ratio of children and the proportion of women 20 to 44 married—the more women married the fewer the children. (See Table 55.) There also appears to be a slight tendency for a small proportion of Negroes in the total population to be accompanied by a low ratio of children. But neither of these tendencies is very clearly evident and the wide variations present make it doubtful whether they represent any significant trend. It will be recalled that all of these factors appeared to be of considerable significance in explaining the differences between the ratios of children to native white women in the cities. It would seem, therefore, that in explaining the ratios of children to Negro women, emphasis must be put on somewhat different factors than in explaining those of white women in our cities. The following is offered as a possible partial explanation of the situation found among Negroes.

In the cities, the Negro is a comparatively recent arrival and has not had time yet to develop a strong feeling of belonging to a community or to make a cultural community of his own. The result is that he is in a very badly disorganized condition. Now this can scarcely be the case without undermining such ties of family life and attitudes toward raising children as the Negroes have brought to the city with them. Hence the ratio of children to women, which is a good measure of the strength of family life is somewhat lower among Negroes in the cities than among the native whites and is very much below the ratio among the rural Negroes where certain family traditions still prevail and where birth control is little known.

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[7] Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. IV, p. 377.

[8] Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. IV, pp. 377, 404, 413, 422, 431.

The fact that the birth rate is very low among Negroes in the larger cities, so low that they are not now reproducing themselves, as has been shown, suggests certain possible results of birth control which have hitherto been very little considered. If we are right in assuming that the drastic birth restriction among urban Negroes arises largely because of their disorganized life, to which must be added the fact that they do not take much thought for the future and that they tend to prefer the present pleasure to the more remote satisfaction of home life and children, which are extremely difficult for them to attain in the cities, then what is to prevent the spread of this type of race suicide to other groups of the population whose attitudes toward life are quite similar to those of Negroes? There can not be the least question that there are a great many white people who are unable or unwilling to look ahead any great distance, who want the tangible pleasures they can see immediately ahead of them and who care little about the future or the more enduring satisfactions of life. Such people are found in every walk of life but probably they are somewhat more numerous in the lower social and economic classes. Already birth control is widely known as a means of avoiding unwelcome family responsibilities. When it has penetrated through all strata of society it may be that we shall find a considerable proportion of those people in the lower classes who now have relatively high birth rates following the path the urban Negroes appear to be pursuing and reducing their birth rates below the maintenance level as many in the upper classes have already done.

In an attempt to explain this attitude of mind one may say that people who are made to feel that they have little or no stake in the civilization of their day are almost certain to concentrate their energies on getting what they can out of life each moment. Children do not fit in with such a scheme of life and if once people have learned how to avoid them we may expect that the birth rate will become highly selective, eliminating most rapidly those who value present ease, pleasure, and personal success above any contribution they may make to the future of the race. The people, then, in all walks of life, who see a real meaning in living would be those who would contribute most to the numbers of each succeeding generation. Such a selection would be eugenic in the very best sense.

Is it possible then that we may have in the dying out or at best in the very slow growth of the Negroes in the cities, a harbinger of a new era of population growth in which selective processes will be more beneficial than ever before because really based on choice determined by essential hereditary qualities? One may not assert this, but it is worth thinking about. Such a selection, however, will by no means follow the lines which most eugenists of to-day would consider desirable, that is, it will not follow the present lines of class cleavage on the basis of economic status.

It is quite probable, on the other hand, that there is no special significance to be attached to the apparent dying out of the urban Negroes. It may be merely the result of failure to accord them a training which will enable them to evaluate and to choose the more permanent things of life. If so, the selective value of birth control may not be eugenic. But that it is not eugenic is no reason for assuming that it is dysgenic as so many people do to-day.

After this speculative flight one should perhaps say that not very many people in any group limit births because of the consciousness of being without a stake in the future of a community or a civilization. The motives leading to birth control are generally more concrete and have direct relation to the immediate personal advantages of having few or no children. Thus the desire for good clothes, for good food, for good living quarters, for gay night life, for freedom to flit hither and thither at will, for appearing well socially, for achieving the conventional successes of one's group, etc., are usually the immediate motives for the limitation of births among all classes. But may it not be that back of these concrete desires and intensifying their urge to a definite type of conduct lies, among the Negroes, an unconscious feeling of having but little chance to participate in the more important phases of the life of the community or the age; hence, of the futility of self-sacrifice for the sake of children?

However this may be, it is certain that the city Negroes of to-day are, in many localities, not reproducing their numbers. Indeed one can not but think that if the Negroes continue to move from the country to the city as they have been doing during the last decade or two, the race problem in this country may solve itself in a way no one foresaw, by real race suicide. Of course, it is possible that as the Negroes in our cities increase thay will build up a culture of their own within which it will be possible to achieve personal and biological success at the same time. This possibility seems rather remote, however, for as has been shown elsewhere, the whites, whose civilization this is, have made almost no progress in this direction as yet, in the cities, and the Negro has farther to go than the white man to attain this balance of personal and racial impulses.

If an attempt were made to sum up the difference between the whites and the Negroes, as regards their ratios of children in the cities, it could be said that the Negro has a more difficult adjustment to make in adapting his habits and customs, his actions, thoughts, and sentiments, to modern city conditions than the white man. Therefore, he is slower in making this adaptation than the white man, and it is problematical whether he can make it in time to save himself. Even the white man has not yet proved that he can, or is willing to, make the essential adjustments between personal desires and racial impulses that will enable him to survive. It seems, therefore, that the future of the Negro in our cities is a very uncertain matter. He may perish in the attempt to make the necessary adjustments. Such an experience would not be a new thing in the history of mankind. It has happened frequently in past ages.

RATIOS OF CHILDREN TO WOMEN IN THE "OTHER COLORED" POPULATION

JAPANESE

The ratios of children under 5 to women 20 to 44 years of age in our "Other colored" population (see Table 57) do not appear unusual, although in the Pacific Coast States where the other colored were about three-fifths Japanese the ratios are lower than we might expect. If we compare the ratio for the other colored in the Pacific States (876) with that for the Japanese in the country as a whole (856)[9] we find that the Japanese do not have as many children as the other groups with which they are classed. This appears rather strange in view of the very high birth rate of the other colored in California, Oregon, and Washington, shown in Table 4, Chapter I. The explanation of this difference appears to lie in the fact that a considerable proportion of the Japanese women enumerated in 1920 had not been in this country long enough at the time of the census to have as many children under 5 as they would have a few years later.

It is interesting to note that among the other colored also the ratio of children to women increases as the size of the community decreases, except in cities of 10,000 to 25,000. (There are too few in this group of cities to be of much significance in any case.) In this they show the same influence of city living on the birth rate as the foreign-born whites and the natives. The depressing influence of the city on effective reproduction seems to extend to all classes and races of our population without exception. As far as the Japanese are concerned the lower ratio of children in the larger communities is entirely in keeping with what is happening in Japan, where, in 1922, the birth rate in the country as a whole was 34.16, in cities of less than 50,000 it was 29.18, and in cities of over 50,000 it was 27.87.[10] This means that in Japan there is a difference of at least 10 per 1,000 between the birth rate of the larger cities and the rural districts. That there should be much the same difference in this country between the Japanese living in the cities and those in the rural districts is to be expected.

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[9] Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Population, 1920, pp. 166 and 287.

[10] Bureau de la Statistique Générale, Résumé Statistique du Mouvement de la Population de L'Empire du Japon, 1922, pp. 4, 8, 12.

TABLE 57.—"OTHER COLORED"[1] CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 "OTHER COLORED" WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, FOR EACH STATE AND CITY HAVING 1,000 OR MORE "OTHER COLORED" WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE: 1920[2]

	"OTHER COLORED" POPULATION		
	Women 20 to 44 years of age	Children under 5 years of age	Children under 5 per 1,000 women 20 to 44 years of age
United States	60,831	55,610	914
Cities 100,000 and over	9,407	6,963	740
25,000 to 100,000	2,817	2,231	792
10,000 to 25,000	1,251	899	719
2,500 to 10,000	2,730	2,312	847
Rural	44,626	43,205	968
Middle Atlantic	1,678	1,147	684
New York	1,459	980	672
East North Central	2,564	2,298	896
Rural	1,949	1,913	982
Wisconsin	1,354	1,355	1,001
Rural	1,257	1,291	1,027
West North Central	5,629	5,478	973
Rural	5,256	5,225	994
Minnesota	1,326	1,385	1,044
Rural	1,251	1,355	1,067
South Dakota	2,400	2,330	971
Rural	2,365	2,292	969
South Atlantic	2,071	2,421	1,169
Rural	1,980	2,336	1,180
North Carolina	1,727	2,054	1,189
Rural	1,717	2,041	1,189
West South Central	9,332	9,149	980
Rural	8,293	8,374	1,010
Oklahoma	8,709	8,566	984
Rural	7,830	7,923	1,012

	"OTHER COLORED" POPULATION		
	Women 20 to 44 years of age	Children under 5 years of age	Children under 5 per 1,000 women 20 to 44 years of age
Mountain	13,091	11,987	916
Rural	12,312	11,407	926
Montana	1,676	1,763	1,052
Rural	1,602	1,686	1,052
New Mexico	2,913	2,445	839
Rural	2,862	2,421	846
Arizona	5,009	4,710	940
Rural	4,820	4,565	947
Pacific	25,674	22,495	876
Cities 100,000 and over	7,861	5,937	755
25,000 to 100,000	2,162	1,760	814
2,500 to 10,000	1,436	1,284	894
Rural	13,594	12,994	956
Washington	4,856	4,228	871
Seattle	1,869	1,334	714
100,000 and over	1,913	1,362	712
Rural	2,450	2,508	1,024
Oregon	1,546	1,316	851
California	19,272	16,951	880
Los Angeles	2,691	2,230	829
San Francisco	1,902	1,352	711
100,000 and over	5,466	4,205	769
25,000 to 100,000	1,856	1,551	836
2,500 to 10,000	1,246	1,131	908
Rural	10,204	9,648	946

[1] Japanese, Chinese, and Indians.
[2] Calculated from Detailed Table I.

INDIANS

Outside of the Pacific coast and the Middle Atlantic States, the "Other colored" are largely Indians. Their ratios of children are higher in other parts of the country than on the west coast where the Japanese dominate. But when allowance is made for the short length of residence of many of the Japanese women, as was mentioned above, it seems likely that the Japanese exceed the Indians in ratio of children by a fair margin. The ratio of children to women among all the Indians of the United States is 923.[11] This is undoubtedly too low, for among the Indians as among the Negroes the census reports more children aged 5 to 9 than under 5. The Indians thus have quite a high ratio of children to women as compared with other groups. The fact that practically all Indians are rural will undoubtedly go far to account for their relatively high ratio of children.

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[11] Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Population, p. 166.

CHINESE

The ratio of children to women among all Chinese in the United States is 963.[11] This is a high ratio; especially does it appear high when we learn that practically all the Chinese in this country live in cities.

We have been accustomed to think of the orientals as having a high birth rate. These ratios show that this is the case but they also show that they are not much higher than the ratios among the foreign born from southern and eastern Europe. This would seem to be true even after the needed adjustments are made in the Japanese ratio for the short length of residence in the country of many of the women. We have also seen that there are a number of mining counties and rural counties where the ratios of the native whites exceed those of the orientals. There is nothing to indicate, then, that the Japanese and the Chinese are inherently any more prolific than other races. That they are now more fertile than the natives or even most European immigrants is readily explained by the habits of family life they bring with them and the environments in which they live in this country.

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[11] Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Population, p. 166.

VIII

RATIOS OF CHILDREN TO WOMEN COMPARED WITH REPLACEMENT NEEDS

INADEQUACY OF RATES BASED ON CRUDE BIRTH AND DEATH RATES

The simplest and most obvious measurement of the natural increase or decrease of a population is found in the relation of the crude birth rates and death rates. It is clear that as long as the birth rate exceeds the death rate there is some increase. But with a steadily falling birth rate, the actual rates for births and deaths do not tell a wholly truthful tale or, at least, one easy of correct interpretation. Especially is this true if one desires to arrive at a sound judgment of what the tendencies of the growth of our numbers will be during the next three or four decades.

It is a matter of common knowledge that young children die in rather large numbers, especially during the first year of life. A rate of 7 per cent or 8 per cent for children under 1 year is a low rate. In 1925 out of each 1,000 white children born, 68.3 died before they reached the end of the first year. It is also well known that older people, those above 50, let us say, die in larger numbers than those 10 to 50. The exact rate in 1920 for white males 52 years of age was 13.83 per 1,000. The fact is that from about 12 years of age, when the death rate is lowest (2.20 per 1,000), it rises without interruption. At 42 it is 8.65 per 1,000, almost four times as great as at 12; at 52 it is about 60 per cent greater than at 42; at 62 (28.35 per 1,000), it is over twice as large as at 52; and at 72 (65.41 per 1,000), it is well over twice as large as at 62.[1] It is clear, then, that any population in which a large part of the people are under 40 will have a lower crude death rate, other things being equal, than a population with relatively more people over 40.

As is well known, women over 35 contribute comparatively few children to the population (slightly less than 20 per cent of all children according to Dublin's calculations).[2] We have shown that the fertility of women married after 17 years of age falls off rapidly. (See Chap. VI, p. 110.) It follows, then, that any population which has been increasing rather rapidly from an excess of births or by immigration must have a relatively young population in which deaths will be few and births many as compared with a more stable population.

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[1] Bureau of the Census, United States Abridged Life Tables, 1920, pp. 12–13.

[2] Dublin, Louis I., and Lotka, Alfred J., On the Rate of Natural Increase, Journal of the American Statistical Association, September, 1925, p. 309.

This is just the situation of the United States. The result is that a comparison of the birth rates and death rates in our registration States gives a wholly inadequate picture of what is really happening as regards the trend of our increase at the present time. The birth rate of our registration area for the entire population stood at 23.7 per 1,000 in 1920 and 20.6 in 1927, and the death rates were 13.1 and 11.4, respectively. Thus, on the face of things, the population in our registration area was increasing at the rate of about 10.6 per 1,000 per annum in 1920 and 9.2 in 1927, or about 10 per cent in 10 years by excess of births over deaths. But with a falling birth rate the age composition of the population is steadily changing. There are fewer young people than formerly and more in the older age groups.

CHANGING AGE COMPOSITION

This is shown in Table 58, where the percentages of the population in certain age groups in the United States in 1850, 1870, and 1920 are given, together with the percentages in a stationary[3] population in the United States in 1920 and in the population of France in 1911, the last census preceding the war.

TABLE 58.—PER CENT OF POPULATION IN CERTAIN AGE GROUPS FOR THE UNITED STATES, 1920, 1870, AND 1850, AND FOR FRANCE, 1911[1]

		PER CENT OF THE POPULATION		
		Under 20 years of age	20 to 39 years of age	40 years of age and over
Total population of the United States	1920	40.7	32.4	26.9
	1870	49.7	30.3	19.9
	1850	52.5	30.6	17.0
Stationary white population of the United States	1920	31.4	25.3	43.4
Total population of France	1911	33.9	30.5	35.6

[1] Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Population, 1920, and Statistique Générale de la France, Résultats Statistiques du Recensement Général de la Population, 1911, Tome I, Deuxieme Partie, p. 33.

These figures show conclusively that we are rapidly approaching a condition where our age constitution will approximate that of a stationary population, and as this happens, our death rate will inevitably rise (in a stationary population in the United States in 1920 it would have been 17.8 as compared with 13.1 in the actual population). The birth rate will just as inevitably fall, even if women still raise as large families, individually, because a smaller proportion of the women will be in the child-bearing ages. There is good reason to think, therefore, that in the registration area to-day the average number of births per 1,000 women 20 to 44 years of age does not exceed the number necessary to maintain the population at its present numbers as much as is generally supposed.

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[3] It will perhaps be well to state again that a stationary population is one which would arise from a given number of births and deaths annually (say 100,000) with the death rates of a given time (say 1920) when there had elapsed sufficient time for all those born in first year of the period to have died. This would require about a century, but practically there would be little increase after 75 to 80 years.

Dublin and Lotka [4] have attacked this problem from an angle quite different from ours and have arrived at the figure 5.47 per 1,000 population per annum for our true rate of natural increase instead of 10.6 as shown by deducting the crude death rate from the crude birth rate. In general the results of our study are in harmony with their conclusion.

TABLE 59.—A STATIONARY POPULATION, FOR WHITES AND NEGROES, IN SELECTED STATES AND CITIES: 1920[a]

	STATIONARY POPULATION					CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE		PER CENT OF WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE	
	Total	Children under 5 years of age	Deaths per 1,000		Births per 1,000[b]	In a stationary population	Necessary to maintain population as at present constituted	In a stationary population	In the actual population
			Males	Females					
WHITES	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
States									
Total	11, 561, 412	940, 768	18. 1	17. 4	17. 75	469	313	17. 3	19. 3
California	11, 567, 766	950, 468	18. 3	17. 1	17. 70	472	312	17. 4	20. 1
Indiana	11, 730, 983	945, 047	17. 6	17. 4	17. 50	474	330	17. 0	18. 4
Kansas	12, 383, 570	962, 831	16. 7	16. 4	16. 55	464	289	16. 8	18. 1
Kentucky	11, 822, 840	952, 922	17. 3	17. 4	17. 35	481	297	16. 8	17. 2
Massachusetts	11, 333, 257	927, 260	18. 5	17. 7	18. 10	466	305	17. 6	20. 5
New York	11, 121, 945	929, 427	18. 9	17. 9	18. 40	469	301	17. 8	20. 8
North Carolina	11, 867, 434	950, 732	17. 3	17. 2	17. 25	472	309	17. 0	17. 0
Pennsylvania	11, 189, 784	926, 752	18. 8	17. 9	18. 35	470	332	17. 6	18. 5
South Carolina	11, 654, 569	946, 948	17. 8	17. 3	17. 55	470	305	17. 3	17. 5
Utah	11, 677, 046	955, 070	18. 1	17. 1	17. 60	472	312	17. 3	17. 1
Cities									
Total	10, 910, 242	923, 800	19. 4	18. 2	18. 80	472	273	17. 9	22. 1
Baltimore	10, 883, 144	917, 004	19. 4	18. 3	18. 85	472	300	17. 9	20. 9
Detroit	10, 810, 784	911, 051	19. 2	18. 7	18. 95	483	277	17. 4	21. 5
Los Angeles	11, 389, 368	943, 110	18. 7	17. 3	18. 00	474	284	17. 5	22. 9
New Orleans	10, 631, 924	941, 898	20. 2	18. 4	19. 30	479	318	18. 5	21. 2
New York	10, 901, 561	927, 609	19. 4	18. 2	18. 80	470	264	18. 1	22. 0
Pittsburgh	10, 004, 772	893, 876	21. 2	19. 8	19. 50	489	336	18. 3	20. 8
Washington	11, 627, 170	948, 066	18. 6	16. 7	17. 65	455	222	17. 8	26. 4
NEGROES									
Original registration States	8, 483, 129	866, 558	24. 7	23. 6	24. 15	571	344	17. 9	26. 3
States with less than 4 per cent Negro	8, 524, 662	870, 534	24. 7	23. 4	24. 05	572	361	17. 9	25. 1
States with more than 5 per cent Negro	9, 416, 589	918, 004	21. 6	22. 0	21. 80	576	418	16. 9	18. 9
Large cities	8, 095, 233	854, 005	26. 0	24. 6	25. 30	744	328	14. 2	28. 0

[a] Based upon special data supplied by the division of vital statistics, Bureau of the Census.

[b] Birth rate obtained by averaging the male and female death rates, since in a stationary population the birth and death rates are the same.

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[4] Dublin, Louis I., and Lotka, Alfred J., On the Rate of Natural Increase, Journal of the American Statistical Association, September, 1925, pp. 305–339.

STATIONARY POPULATION STUDY

Before proceeding further it will be necessary to say something regarding Table 59.

It may be well to explain that the number of children under 5 in a stationary population (column B) represents the number of this age that would be living at any given moment from 105,000 male births and 100,000 female births annually, a total of 1,025,000 births in the period of 5 years during which the living children under 5 have been born. One hundred and five thousand male births are used because children are born approximately in the ratio of 105 males to 100 females.

Column G is the ratio of children to women necessary to maintain the population of the given area as long as the present age and sex constitution persists, with the death rates for specific ages that prevailed in 1920—*temporary* maintenance ratio.[5] This number will rise steadily as the birth rate falls until it approaches the corresponding ratio in column F—*permanent* maintenance ratio.[6] Of course, as long as any community receives a large immigration the approach to the age and sex constitution of a stationary population is retarded. But when the birth rate of a whole nation is undergoing a rapid decline there can be few, if any, communities that will not be appreciably affected by the changes in sex and age constitution consequent upon such a decline.

We can see how unequally different communities will be affected by this decline, coupled with the effects of decreasing immigration, if we compare the several communities in respect to the data in columns H and I, Table 59 (the per cent of women 20 to 44 years of age in the actual and stationary populations). North Carolina, South Carolina, and Utah have about the same proportion of women 20 to 44 years of age in their actual populations that they would have in a stationary population. Massachusetts and New York, on the other hand, have over one-sixth more women in this age group now than they would have in a stationary population.[7] Among the cities, Los Angeles has

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[5] The *temporary maintenance ratio* is the number of children under 5 per 1,000 women 20 to 44 needed to maintain a population at a given number as long as the age and sex composition and specific death rates remain as they were at a specified time.

[6] The *permanent maintenance ratio* is the number of children under 5 per 1,000 women 20 to 44 needed to maintain a population at a given number when the age and sex constitution of a population is that of a stationary population having the death rates of a given time.

[7] The wide variations between the proportion of women 20 to 44 in the actual populations and the stationary populations are chiefly due to the varying extent to which the different communities are affected by migration and the amount of reduction in the birth rate that has already taken place. Thus North Carolina and South Carolina have had their populations depleted to a certain extent by emigration, and many of the women migrants have been in their twenties. Consequently, the percentages of these women in the population are lowered. Conversely, in the States which have drawn women from other States or countries there are larger proportions of them in the population. This is true of New York, Massachusetts, and many of the larger cities which are particularly attractive to young women as furnishing them abundant opportunity for self-support.

The second factor affecting the proportion of women is the decline of the birth rate. The greater this decline and the longer it has been going on the fewer people there will be under 20, provided immigration

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nearly one-third more, New York City has almost one-fourth more, and Washington, D. C., has one-half more in this age group than they would have if their populations were stationary in the sense in which this word is used here. Clearly the States and cities with large excesses of women in the childbearing ages can show an increase of total population on a very low ratio of children to women.

Column A gives the total population that would arise in the several communities from 205,000 births annually with the specific death rates the same as in 1920. We can see here how the death rates in different localities affect the size of their populations. Among whites, Kansas would have over 2,300,000 more people than Pittsburgh from 205,000 births each year. Washington and Los Angeles are the only cities in this group that compare quite favorably with the States and even Washington is about 750,000 behind Kansas. This is nearly 6 per cent. With a given number of births, the rural States will support a larger population than the industrial States and a still larger one than the cities.

The death rates in these several communities for a stationary population are given in column C for males and column D for females. Since the death rate in a stationary population does not appear likely to fall much, if any, below 16 and since the age and sex constitution of our actual population is rapidly approaching that of a stationary population, our present death rate of about 12 can not long endure.[8] The checking of immigration will also hasten the approach of the sex and age constitution of a stationary population.

Column E shows the birth rate in a stationary population, which is of course the same as the death rate for both sexes combined. It will probably surprise a good many people to learn that it will take a birth rate of 16 to 18 to maintain our numbers after a few decades at most. But the real surprise will come when we compare this birth rate and death rate in a stationary population with the crude birth rate of 20.6 in the registration area in 1927 and 19.7 in 1928. This leaves a margin

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of boys and girls is not sufficient to counterbalance the deficiency in births. We can see some of the effects of a declining birth rate on age constitution if we compare North Carolina with New York. In the former 50.9 per cent of the total population is under 20 years of age, while in the latter only 35.7 per cent is of this age.

[8] This may seem an unwarranted statement in view of the increase in the average length of life which has taken place in recent years. In the original registration States in 1901 the expectation of life was 49.24 years, in 1920 it had become approximately 56.50 years, an increase of 14.7 per cent. But it must be recognized that this increase in the average expectation of life is not an increase in the life span. It is merely a reflection of the success of medicine and sanitation in saving people from early death, particularly from infant death. There is no proof whatever that individuals live to a greater age than formerly. Furthermore an average expectation of life of 57.5 years means a death rate of 17.4 in a stationary population, while a death rate of 16 means an average expectation of life of 62.5 years. The present facts and a rational outlook for the future, then, justify the belief that a death rate below 16 in a stationary population is not likely to be achieved soon, much less a death rate of 12. For a death rate of 12 in a population having the age constitution of a stationary population would mean that every person born alive would on the average live 83.3 years. To attain this average enough people must live beyond this age to make up the years lost by all those who die before reaching it. Manifestly no such increase in the life span of a considerable part of our population is in near prospect.

of about 2 to 3 available for natural increase. This is all the more significant in view of the fact that the crude birth rate will inevitably fall as the age constitution of our female population changes so that a larger proportion of all women are found in the older age groups.

In approaching the problem of our natural increase of population from the standpoint of the ratio of children to white women in a stationary population in the registration area in 1920, we are concerned primarily, however, with the data in column F. Here we find that it takes 469 children under 5 per 1,000 women 20 to 44 years of age to maintain the numbers of such a population. Of course, as at present constituted (column G), 313 children under 5 per 1,000 women 20 to 44 will keep up the numbers. But every year an addition must be made to this 313 because our age constitution is becoming less favorable from the standpoint of both births and deaths. Just how long it will be before we shall need the full 469, one can not say, but it is quite certain that before another half century 9 per cent will again be lopped off the population under twenty and most of it added to the population over 40. This is about what happened in the half-century 1870–1920, as Table 58 shows; hence, it is not unlikely that in four or five decades we shall have approximately the age and sex constitution characteristics of a stationary population.

It should further be noted that the effects of a declining birth rate are temporarily to reduce the death rate (largely because of declining infant mortality) as well as the birth rate. After a time, however, if the birth rate is declining very rapidly the further saving of infant lives becomes almost impossible and the death rate automatically begins to rise. The changing age constitution will of itself bring this about even in the face of more adequate medical and sanitary service. The rate of natural increase is thus eaten into from both ends. The last two or three decades have seen such a rapid decline in the death rate that most people apparently have failed to realize that it can not continue to fall indefinitely, to say nothing of the fact that before long it must begin to rise. It is not generally realized that a death rate of 12 in a stationary population means an average expectation of life in excess of 83 years.

EFFECT OF IMMIGRATION ON BIRTH RATES

The restriction of immigration in this country will have a marked effect on the birth rate, particularly in our larger cities. Not only are the numbers of foreign-born women being rapidly reduced but those admitted now are more largely coming from countries where the practice of birth control is widespread. Hence our future immigrant women are not likely to bear as many children as the immigrant women who came to us after 1900 and who were still contributing largely to births in 1920.

Table 25 in Chapter III shows that comparable localities largely composed of "old" immigrants have much lower ratios of children than those composed largely of "new" immigrants. When the present "new" immigrants become "old" they, too, will undoubtedly have a lower birth rate. The result will be that our cities as a whole will rather rapidly tend to approximate the present ratios of the native white women in them.

COMPARISONS WITH FRANCE

Further proof that we shall need a ratio of children to women of the size mentioned above (469) merely to maintain our population in the not distant future is found in the situation in France. Before the war France's population had been increasing so slowly for several decades that its age and sex constitution approximated rather closely that of a stationary population. (See Table 58.) In 1911 in France, the ratio of children under 5 to women 20 to 44 years of age was 474, practically the same as the ratio (469) necessary to maintain a stationary population in this country in 1920. To-day the difference in rate of natural increase between France (about 1 per 1,000 per year) and the registration area of the United States (9 per 1,000 per year) is not so much a difference in birth rates as in death rates; and the difference in death rates is more largely a matter of age distribution (see Table 58) than of expectation of life. The proof of this statement is found in the fact that in 1910 the average expectation of life was 51.49 years in the United States (both sexes) and 50.42 years in France (both sexes). In 1921 the expectation of life in France (both sexes) was 54.11 and in the United States it was about 56.43. This shows very clearly that it is the difference in age constitution rather than in expectation of life that makes France's death rate (16–18) so much higher than our own (11–13); and her natural increase only about one-sixth to one-tenth of ours.[9] The actual difference in birth rates in 1920 was only two points in our favor—21.3 in France and 23.5 in the white population of our registration area. Since then they approximate even more closely—19.7 for the United States in 1928 and 18.5 for France in the same year.

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[9] No one moderately familiar with general living conditions in France and in the United States would doubt that our death rate would be lower than that of France even if our age constitution were the same; but no one can reasonably doubt either that our death rate would be considerably higher than it is if our age constitution were the same as that of France.

This comparison with France serves to indicate the situation in which we shall find ourselves before long by reason of changes inevitably following from a large and rapid decline in the birth rate.

The present rates of increase in our population based on the crude rates, are entirely inadequate to show the tendency in our population growth. A study of the ratios of children to women and what they mean in relation to our temporary and permanent maintenance needs will help to supply this deficiency.[10]

TEMPORARY AND PERMANENT MAINTENANCE NEEDS

The ratio of children under 5 to all (both native and foreign born) white women 20 to 44 in the United States in 1920 was 581; with 469 needed for permanent maintenance there was a fair margin for increase, 112, or 23.8 per cent. Expressed in another way, one may say that when our death rate becomes that of a stationary population (see death rates in Table 59) only 23.8 per cent of the children under 5 will be available for increase provided the ratio remains the same as at present. And as shown above it is certain to go lower in the near future. This surplus can not be transmuted into a definite rate of natural increase. But it certainly in no way contradicts Dublin and Lotka's figure of 5.7 per 1,000 population as substantially accurate for our true annual rate of increase in 1920. These calculations, however, apply only to the white population of the country as a whole.

The ratios of children to women differ greatly from one community to another, as we have seen. The ratio of children to all white women 20 to 44 (both native and foreign born) in cities of over 100,000 was 443, and in cities of 25,000 to 100,000 it was 470. Cities of more than 25,000, therefore, did not have enough children to maintain their population permanently (without migration) with death rates of 1920.[11]

The ratio of children necessary to maintain cities of over 100,000 temporarily, that is, as long as their death rates remain as they were in 1920 and as long as their age and sex constitution is unaltered, is approximately 273. (Table 59, column G.) It is somewhat higher (293) in the cities of 25,000 to 100,000 because of the less favorable age constitution. The larger cities, then, have a fairly large surplus of children over their temporary needs for maintenance (443 − 273 = 170 in cities of over 100,000 and 470 − 293 = 177 in cities of 25,000 to 100,000). The smaller cities, less than 25,000, have even larger surpluses, for the ratio in cities of 10,000 to 25,000 is 509, and in cities of 2,500 to 10,000 it is 531. The real surplus, however, is found in the rural districts with a ratio of 744.

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[10] Since this was first worked out the study of Dublin and Lotka referred to above has pointed the way to a more precise measurement of true natural increase.

[11] The permanent maintenance ratio for the total of the large cities shown in Table 59 in 1920 was 472. This is three points higher than the permanent maintenance for the total of the States. Since the proportion of our population living in cities is constantly increasing and will probably continue to increase until less than about 20 per cent of our people live on farms, the permanent maintenance ratio will tend to approximate that for cities (472) rather than that for States (469); hence, we shall use 472 as the permanent maintenance ratio in the rest of the calculations in this chapter.

With present specific birth rates the cities of over 100,000 will shortly (three or four decades at most) be decreasing in population, if they are not kept up by migration to them from the surrounding country and from abroad, for we have shown above that a ratio of 472 is needed by them to maintain their present numbers when their population becomes stationary and that the age distribution is moving rather rapidly in that direction. We must remember that these calculations are based on the assumption that there are no additions to or subtractions from the population of these cities because of migration: actually this condition is not at all likely to come to pass.

What is true of the larger cities is also true of the smaller cities, but they will not reach the point of natural decrease (more deaths than births) quite so soon as the larger cities, and the rural districts seem likely to continue to have a very considerable natural increase (more births than deaths) for some time after the urban areas have ceased to increase except by migration to them.

Just how long it will be before the birth rate in different communities will fall to the level where births will be fewer than deaths can not be foretold accurately, but judging from what has happened in France it will be three or four decades before the age distribution of the country as a whole will be like that of France in 1911.[12] It may, then, be 4 or 5 decades before we shall approximate very closely in our actual population the age groups of a stationary population. There is, however, some evidence that in many localities our birth rate is falling faster than ever that of France did, hence, we may reach the stage of virtual equality between births and deaths in a shorter time than France did and it may be only a few years until certain localities will have no excess of births over deaths. The data for 1927 show that Montana had a birth rate of only 13.7, Washington of 14.9, Oregon of 16.4 and eight other States also had rates of less than 19.

TREND AMONG NATIVE WHITE WOMEN

Perhaps the general situation can be best understood by giving a little closer attention to what is happening now among native women, for under the present immigration policy the foreign-born women will not be a very important factor in our population growth in the near future.

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[12] Again attention must be called to the fact that there are some omissions of young children from the census count. Our data, therefore, make the time of arriving at a stationary population appear a little closer than it actually is.

The actual ratios of children to native white women in cities of over 100,000 and in cities of 25,000 to 100,000 are 341 and 390, respectively. The margins for temporary increase in these places to-day are not very large (341 − 273 = 68 and 390 − 293 = 97) and with the changes which will ensue because of the restriction of immigration and the altering of its sources, we may not have to wait long to see the spectacle of some of our cities depending on migration, chiefly from the rural districts, for the keeping up of their actual numbers, to say nothing of the increase in numbers they all so ardently desire.

The ratio of children to native white women in the cities of over 100,000 is already nearly 27.8 per cent below the permanent maintenance needs; in the cities of 25,000 to 100,000 it is about 17.3 per cent below; in cities of 10,000 to 25,000 it is 8.4 per cent below and even in the smallest cities it is barely above the necessary level. Clearly, as our city population becomes increasingly native and as the changing age constitution results in more deaths and fewer births, our modern cities, like ancient cities, will stand forth as the great destroyers of men. All the great advances in medicine and sanitation can avail nothing beyond the saving of a few lives for a few years. As long as the cities put such great pressure on people to restrict births as they are now doing the birth rates of the cities will continue to decline and before long there will be more deaths than births in many of them.

An examination of the ratios of children to all native white women in all the cities of over 100,000 (Table 20) reveals the fact that only Salt Lake City has a ratio above the permanent maintenance ratio for the large cities (472). Also only 12 other cities have a ratio of over 400, while there are 8 that have ratios of less than 300. These latter are certainly very close to the limit of temporary maintenance now and need but a small further fall in the birth rate to have a deficit rather than a surplus. Indeed, in the cases of San Francisco and Los Angeles it would seem that only a very abnormal age distribution prevents them from having too few births to maintain themselves temporarily even now.

When we turn to the rural districts, on the other hand, the picture is quite different. In the native white population there the ratio is 721. Taking Kansas, North Carolina, and Kentucky as representing the rural districts in Table 59 the ratio of children necessary for permanent maintenance is 472, and for temporary maintenance 297. Thus, the native white population of the rural districts has three-fifths more children than are necessary for permanent maintenance and over two and one-half times as many as are needed for temporary maintenance. Since the birth rate is falling in the rural communities as well as elsewhere, we may look forward to changes in age constitution there less favorable to low death rates and to fairly high birth rates than at present. But since the proportion of women in the childbearing ages is much the same in these rural States even now as in a stationary population and since there are comparatively few foreign born in the rural population, its age constitution will not be as much affected by a falling birth rate and by the restriction of immigration as will that of the population of the cities. One can not tell just how rapidly birth restriction will spread, nor the extent to which it will be practiced among country people, thus cutting down their rate of natural increase. Elsewhere (Chap. VI) we have given reasons for believing that country people will never practice such drastic restriction as city people. Consequently it seems probable that rural people will maintain a fair rate of natural increase for some time to come. But there can be no doubt that it will be a decreasing rate.

There is a possibility, of course, that the argument advanced above will be in part invalidated by an increase in the birth rate of the native born after the restriction of immigration has had time to make itself felt in the labor market. If there should be any significant and continued increase in the reproductive vitality of the native population this would prove Walker's contention that immigration is more largely a process of substitution than of addition. But it would be a matter of surprise if any such increase in the birth rate took place.

In Chapter IX (Conclusions) reasons are given for believing that the control of births to-day is largely for immediate personal advantage and that as such it is not really intelligent control. Our present personal control is not intelligent from a long-time point of view because of inherent defects in our present social organization, and it will not be replaced by a really intelligent control until we materially alter this form of organization; this is to say, the intelligent control of births involves much besides limiting them to the number contributing most to the ease of living and the economic advantage of the individual or to the number that can be supported at customary standards of life by the economic organization of the moment. There are other values, some of them perhaps of more permanent significance, which are ignored by the present individualistic control. Without going into any detail in this matter a few questions may suggest some directions in which we should look for such values. How many children are needed in each family to keep up the present numbers of the population? What is the relation between childbearing and the mental and physical health of women? How many children are needed in a family so that the children themselves get the most out of family life? What are the effects of children upon the mental development of parents? Are children needed to insure the normal development of adult life, and if so, how many? Is there any relation between the ruthlessness of our economic system and the amount of time given by parents to the care and training of their children? It does not seem reasonable that the reproductive life of man can be so greatly disorganized as it has been (in a very considerable part of our population) during the last few decades without producing a great variety of effects upon our whole scheme of living, some of which are almost certain to be degenerating. An intelligent control of population growth should not be confounded with the present restrictions based so largely on purely personal grounds.

DIFFERENTIAL REPRODUCTION IN THE UNITED STATES

The differential reproduction of different-sized communities in the United States and its divisions is measured roughly in Table 60. The standards of measurement used are the ratios of children needed for temporary and permanent maintenance of the population as defined on page 160. Details regarding States, particular cities of over 25,000, smaller cities in the different States, and the rural districts by States are given in Detailed Table III.

There are certain obvious defects in this method of measuring differential reproduction. In the first place, 273 has been adopted as the ratio necessary for temporary maintenance for all cities of over 100,000. This is obviously too high for some and just as obviously too low for others (Table 59, column G) because these cities vary considerably in their age and sex constitution and in their death rates. The errors arising from this source, however, can not be very great.

TABLE 60.—PER CENT CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE ARE IN EXCESS OF RATIOS NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN THE POPULATION TEMPORARILY AND PERMANENTLY, BY SIZE OF CITY AND NATIVITY AND BY DIVISIONS: 1920[1]

AREA	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE		INDEX SHOWING PER CENT OF EXCESS OF RATIOS OF CHILDREN OVER TEMPORARY REPLACEMENT NEEDS [2]		Index showing per cent of excess (or deficit) of ratios of children of native white women over permanent replacement needs [3]
	Native white	Foreign-born white	Native white	Foreign-born white	
UNITED STATES	538	779	70	150	15
Cities 100,000 and over	341	679	25	150	−30
25,000 to 100,000	390	766	35	160	−15
10,000 to 25,000	434	861	50	195	−10
2,500 to 10,000	477	873	65	200	0
Rural	721	998	125	210	55
NEW ENGLAND	393	747	25	140	−15
Cities 100,000 and over	322	700	20	155	−30
25,000 to 100,000	350	710	20	140	−25
10,000 to 25,000	386	811	30	175	−20
2,500 to 10,000	412	806	40	175	−15
Rural	528	870	65	170	10
MIDDLE ATLANTIC	429	789	35	150	−10
Cities 100,000 and over	342	672	25	145	−30
25,000 to 100,000	381	863	30	195	−20
10,000 to 25,000	431	1,033	50	250	−10
2,500 to 10,000	466	1,034	60	250	0
Rural	588	1,121	85	250	25

[1] Calculated by use of ratios applied to Detailed Table I. See also Detailed Table III.
[2] Called "temporary replacement index" in text.
[3] Called "permanent replacement index" in text.

TABLE 60.—PER CENT CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE ARE IN EXCESS OF RATIOS NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN THE POPULATION TEMPORARILY AND PERMANENTLY, BY SIZE OF CITY AND NATIVITY AND BY DIVISIONS: 1920—Continued

AREA	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE		INDEX SHOWING PER CENT OF EXCESS OF RATIOS OF CHILDREN OVER TEMPORARY REPLACEMENT NEEDS		Index showing per cent of excess (or deficit) of ratios of children of native white women over permanent re placement needs
	Native white	Foreign-born white	Native white	Foreign-born white	
EAST NORTH CENTRAL	493	811	55	160	5
Cities 100,000 and over	360	751	30	175	—25
25,000 to 100,000	413	833	40	180	—15
10,000 to 25,000	451	845	55	190	—5
2,500 to 10,000	478	844	65	180	0
Rural	639	984	100	205	35
WEST NORTH CENTRAL	554	849	75	170	15
Cities 100,000 and over	328	632	20	130	—30
25,000 to 100,000	385	670	30	130	—20
10,000 to 25,000	424	705	45	140	—10
2,500 to 10,000	453	778	55	165	—5
Rural	680	1,037	110	225	45
SOUTH ATLANTIC	713	831	130	165	50
Cities 100,000 and over	406	768	50	180	—15
25,000 to 100,000	459	682	55	135	—5
10,000 to 25,000	494	708	70	140	5
2,500 to 10,000	551	846	90	190	15
Rural	848	1,032	165	220	80
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL	734	710	135	125	55
Cities 100,000 and over	375	625	35	130	—20
25,000 to 100,000	406	527	40	80	—15
10,000 to 25,000	463	626	60	115	0
2,500 to 10,000	516	718	75	145	10
Rural	846	927	165	190	80
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL	682	758	120	140	45
Cities 100,000 and over	369	579	35	110	—20
25,000 to 100,000	376	603	30	105	—20
10,000 to 25,000	466	580	60	100	0
2,500 to 10,000	512	676	75	130	10
Rural	817	929	155	190	75
MOUNTAIN	631	848	100	170	35
Cities 100,000 and over	356	574	30	110	—25
25,000 to 100,000	390	648	35	120	—15
10,000 to 25,000	423	646	45	120	—10
2,500 to 10,000	535	764	80	160	15
Rural	775	986	140	210	65
PACIFIC	388	582	25	85	—20
Cities 100,000 and over	268	449	0	65	—45
25,000 to 100,000	315	534	5	80	—35
10,000 to 25,000	365	567	25	95	—25
2,500 to 10,000	407	666	40	125	—15
Rural	563	792	75	145	20

In the second place, for smaller cities where the age constitution is less favorable to a low temporary maintenance ratio, the figure 293 is used. This is the average of 273, the ratio of large cities, and 313, the ratio for certain selected States (Table 59). This ratio can not be ascertained more exactly. Three hundred and thirteen is used as the temporary maintenance ratio for the United States, each of its divisions, and the several States. For the rural districts the temporary ratio used is 320, on the assumption that they have a less favorable age and sex constitution than the remainder of the States. Again this ratio can not be considered more than approximately accurate. But even if the ratios used here for the calculation of indexes are not absolutely accurate (because of the fact that we do not have separate life tables for each community or even for each size-group) they will give us a fairly accurate notion of the differential rates of reproduction in the various groups and will help us to appreciate a little better the meaning of the varying ratios in these groups.

The different ratios used for the calculation of excess over temporary maintenance needs in different sized communities will account for the apparent discrepancies in some of the figures. For example, the temporary maintenance index in the United States as a whole for the foreign born is 150 (Table 60); it is also 150 for cities of 100,000 and over but higher for all other groups. It would seem that the average for the United States as a whole should be higher than 150 but 313 is the temporary maintenance ratio used here; hence the temporary replacement index for the entire United States is the same as that for cities of over 100,000 and lower than that for all other communities.

The third defect in the method of measuring differential reproduction is that this ratio of 313 is undoubtedly too high for some of the divisions where the population is largely urban—especially in the case of the foreign born—but there is no way of correcting it to suit each case.

But after all the most significant figures in this table are the permanent replacement indexes for the native population for, as has been said frequently in what precedes, our age groupings are changing rapidly and if we would judge of the future growth of our population we must look at the situation that seems certain to arise within the next four or five decades as well as, or even more than, at the conditions of the moment.

Since the ratio of children in a stationary population varies but little between groups, because the age and sex constitution of the groups are much the same under the assumption of being stationary, and because our urban population is steadily becoming a larger proportion of the whole, the ratio of 472 has been used throughout as the permanent maintenance ratio for the calculation of the permanent replacement indexes. It may be well to call attention again to the fact that a *stationary population* as that term is used here is a population that by hypothesis has neither immigration nor emigration and whose size, therefore, is determined by the relation between births and deaths. Actually there could never be such a population but the concept is of use in enabling us to determine what is likely to happen as the actual population of a community comes to approximate the condition of such a hypothetical population.

The indexes showing the excess (or deficiency) in the ratio of children to women for temporary needs are believed to give a fairly accurate idea of the relative rates of increase of these groups at the present time and the permanent replacement indexes show us what will be the relative positions of these communities as regards population growth when they approximate the age and sex constitution of a stationary population, as they are certain to do at a fairly rapid rate. The cities of over 25,000 will certainly tend to approximate this condition within three or four decades and though the rural communities may be somewhat behind them they will come to the same condition in a comparatively short time.

Table 61.—Per Cent of the Native White Population and the Foreign-born White Population in the Various Age Groups: 1920 [1]

AGE GROUP	PER CENT	
	Native white	Foreign-born white
Under 5	12.7	0.3
5–9	12.2	1.2
10–14	11.1	2.4
15–19	9.6	3.9
20–24	8.9	6.8
25–29	8.2	10.6
30–34	7.0	12.0
35–39	6.4	12.7
40–44	5.3	10.4
45–49	4.8	9.5
50–54	3.9	8.5
55–59	3.0	6.6
60–64	2.5	5.2
65–69	1.7	3.8
70–74	1.1	2.8
75 and over, and unknown	1.6	3.3

[1] Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Population, 1920, p. 160.

It should also be mentioned that the ratios needed to temporarily maintain the population are probably not the same for the native born and the foreign born because of differences in age and sex constitution as well as differences in actual death rates. There is no way of allowing for these differences with the data available. The same ratios are, therefore, applied in calculating the maintenance indexes in both nativity groups with the result that the temporary replacement indexes among the foreign born probably appear somewhat greater than they actually are in some communities. It should be noted that there is so little value in calculating the permanent replacement index for the foreign born that it has not been done. In the very nature of the case immigrants as a whole will never even approximately approach the age groups of a stationary population. Immigrants are generally younger people; their children are largely born in this country and they bring comparatively few old people, over 60, with them. In the course of time these younger people pass into the older age groups, resulting in an age distribution quite different from that of the native born, as Table 61 shows. In Table 60 then, the significant comparisons are between the temporary replacement indexes of the natives and the foreign born, and between the temporary and permanent replacement indexes of the natives in communities of different sizes.

It will be worth our while to examine Table 60 in some detail in order to get a more accurate picture of the processes of population growth in this country. In the country as a whole, the native white women have a temporary replacement index of 70 (the ratio of children needed to maintain the numbers of the population with present age and sex distribution and the specific death rates of 1920) but a permanent replacement index of only 15 (when it has the sex and age distribution of a stationary population with the specific death rates of 1920).[13] This is a rather narrow margin for increase over permanent needs. The foreign-born white women have a temporary replacement index of 150. This is a little more than twice the temporary replacement index of the natives.

In comparing the divisions with one another, we find considerable differences between them in every size of community. Thus in the largest cities on the Pacific coast the temporary replacement index among native white women is about zero. In the South Atlantic States, on the other hand, it is about 50. In the other divisions it varies from 20 in New England to 35 in the East and West South Central States. Among foreign-born white women in the large cities the temporary replacement index does not vary much from the average for the United States (150) except on the Pacific coast. Here it is less than one-half of what it is elsewhere. In smaller cities, also, and to much the same extent in all divisions, the foreign-born women maintain their margin of excess over the native women, and the same is true in the rural north and in the Pacific coast rural communities. In the rural South and the Mountain States, however, the temporary replacement indexes of the native white rural women are much higher and are from two-thirds to seven-eighths those of the foreign-born rural women.

When we come to consider the permanent replacement indexes we find that, with a few exceptions, only in the rural districts do these have a positive (+) value among the native women.

If the contention made in this chapter is correct, namely, that we are rather rapidly approaching the sex and age constitution of a stationary population, then we can get a fairly accurate idea of our future situation as regards the growth of our population by supposing that we are now passing from the state of growth as expressed in terms of the temporary replacement indexes of 1920 toward the permanent replacement indexes of the native population.

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[13] No doubt the specific death rates of 1920 (the number dying per 1,000 at each age) will drop somewhat in the future and as this happens the number of children under 5 needed for permanent replacement (472) will become less.

Some communities will accomplish this passage more quickly than others but we shall not make a mistake if we assume that from two to five or six decades will see most of them in the situation indicated by the permanent replacement indexes in the last column of Table 60. Our movement in this direction in the next few decades will be faster than in the decades immediately behind us. Except in the rural districts and some of the smaller cities of the South and the Mountain States, therefore, the real situation appears to be that there will soon be little or no increase in the native white population.

Among the foreign-born white population there is a very considerable increase but one which can not continue. The number of immigrants being admitted now is only about one-fourth to one-fifth what it was in the big years before the war. At present about three-fourths of these are coming from northwestern Europe and Canada and about one-fourth from Mexico. Therefore, as soon as the pre-war immigrant women from southern and eastern Europe pass the childbearing age, we shall no doubt witness a very rapid decline in the ratio of children to foreign-born women and with the great diminution of their numbers, their total contribution to the population will diminish to a small part of what it has been recently. Consequently the tendencies prevailing in the native population will soon be the tendencies of the entire population.

It seems, therefore, that the growth of our population is certain to show a very great decline in the near future. This decline will not be fully manifest in 1930 because of the further decline in the death rate and some little increase in births consequent upon more normal times following the war. But probably by 1940, and certainly by 1950, the cities will be practically stationary, except for migration to them, and the crude [14] rate of increase in the entire country will be less than half of what it now is, that is, below 5,000 per annum. Indeed, with the steadily diminishing importance of the rural population, it seems probable that 30 or 50 years may see an end of all natural increase. Certainly the rural population will not be able to make up the deficits in the cities indicated in Table 60 for any great length of time. When three-fifths to three-fourths of our population becomes urban, the rural increase will have to be spread so widely that it will be exceedingly thin.

It should perhaps be mentioned in this connection that the steady flow of young people from the rural districts to the city will tend to prevent the natural increase of the cities from becoming *minus* or even

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[14] The crude rate is merely the difference between the birth rate and the death rate. See above, p. 2, for Dublin and Lotka's estimate of the true rate of natural increase in 1920.

zero for some time after city-born people themselves have ceased to maintain their numbers by reproduction, both because of the padding of the young age groups (that is, the large proportion of the total population in the younger childbearing ages), and because of the relatively large number of children these migrants will contribute. How long they will continue to contribute more children than city-raised people is a question but that there will be a continuous flow of young people to the cities as long as conditions are more attractive there than on the farm admits of no doubt. The cities will show absolute growth because of the migration to them long after they have ceased to have any natural increase.

IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has shown that there are very marked differences between the ratios of children to women in various parts of the country and in different nativity groups.

In cities of over 100,000 these differences range from 234 children per 1,000 native white women in Los Angeles to 1,051 children per 1,000 foreign-born white women in Youngstown, Ohio; in cities of 25,000 to 100,000 the range is from 257 children per 1,000 native white women in Brookline, Mass., to 1,277 children per 1,000 foreign-born white women in Hamtramck, Mich.; and in the rural districts the range is from 436 children per 1,000 native white women in Rhode Island to 1,393 children per 1,000 foreign-born white women in West Virginia. Of course the majority of communities are found well within these extremes, the averages being as follows: In all cities of over 100,000 the ratio is 341 for native white women and 679 for foreign-born white women; in all cities of 25,000 to 100,000, the ratios are 390 and 766, respectively; and in the rural districts 721 and 998.

In these three comparisons we find the two chief differences in ratios to the study of which the larger part of this monograph has been devoted. They are, first, the differences in ratios of children between the native and the foreign-born women, and second, the differences between the cities and the country districts.

STATIONARY POPULATION

One meaning of these differences in ratios has been strikingly set forth by calculations of the stationary populations [1] that would arise at death rates of 1920 on the supposition that the ratios in rural groups prevailed in urban groups. (See Chap. VI.) On the supposition that the 8,032,720 native white women 20 to 44 years of age living in cities (places of over 2,500 inhabitants) and having a ratio of 388, had the same ratio of children, that is 721, as the native white women in the rural districts, the city women would have had 2,674,645 more children than they did have and this number of children would maintain a stationary population of 32,964,000.[2] This is an enormous population and it shows the extent to which the decline of the birth rate in the cities has preceded its decline in the rural districts. Attention should again be called to the fact, mentioned in Chapter I, that the ratio of children to women is a resultant of three variables, the birth rate, the death rate, and the age constitution of the women, hence the difference in the birth rates of the two groups is not precisely measured by their ratios of children to women. In the native white population, however, the variation in death rates in different groups is not great enough to affect the statement that the differences in ratios arise primarily from differences in birth rates and age constitution. Hence, in the comparison just given, this great deficiency of children in the native white urban population as compared with the rural, is unquestionably due in large measure to the greater reproductive vitality of the rural population.

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[1] As already explained, by "stationary population" is meant a population which remains at a given number under certain conditions. These conditions are that a certain death rate remains fixed and that a definite number of births occur annually. Thus if the death rates for each age prevailing in 1920 are used we find that out of 100,000 white males born at a given time, 91,567 will be alive one year later, 89,957 will be alive at the end of the second year, and so on until all are dead. The sum of those surviving at each year of age from 100,000 births annually constitutes the stationary population arising under these conditions. By hypothesis, the deaths equal the births in this population and there is neither increase nor decrease. With any given number of births annually, the number of people that would ultimately be alive, when births just equaled deaths, at any given death rate, 1920, for example, can be calculated, and that is what we have done here.

Turning to the ratios of children to foreign-born white women, we find that they are higher in every size of community than those of native white women in the same communities. In the three groups of cities of over 10,000 population the ratio of children to foreign-born white women is practically double the ratio to native white women in the same sized communities; in the smallest cities (2,500 to 10,000) it is 83 per cent greater. In the rural districts it is but 38.4 per cent greater. It is worthy of mention, however, that the ratio of children to native white women in the rural districts is 6.2 per cent greater than the ratio of children to foreign-born white women in the cities of over 100,000 where the foreign born are most numerous (General Table I), and where the so-called "new" immigrants constitute a large proportion of all the foreign born. Indeed the ratio of children to *all* urban foreign-born white women 20 to 44 is only slightly higher—727—than the ratio of children to *all* rural native white women 20 to 44—721. It is worth noting in this connection that only 19.1 per cent of the foreign-born women 20 to 44 are found in the rural districts while 45.2 per cent of the native white women 20 to 44 are in the rural districts. Furthermore, the foreign-born women in the rural districts are largely of German, Scandinavian, and British stock; hence there is no question of fundamental racial differences between most of the rural foreign born and the rural natives. There are, of course, a number of rural communities that are not of Germanic stock but they contain an inconsiderable part of the rural population. It is well to remember the facts just cited when discussing the significance of the higher ratios of children among the foreign born. These facts also show that there is nothing abnormally high in the birth rate of our foreign born. It only appears rather unusually high when the natives and foreign born in the cities are compared; when our own rural women are compared with immigrant women who are also chiefly rural in their bringing-up the differences are not large and are not always in favor of the foreign born as we have just seen.

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[2] All women 20 to 44 rather than only married, widowed, or divorced women are used in the calculations of stationary populations, because, from the standpoint of population growth, the failure of a woman to marry amounts to much the same thing as her failure to bear children after marriage because illegitimacy is not very great in this country. See Chap. VI for a more complete definition of "stationary population." "Married" should be understood as including also "widowed or divorced" and if the word *married* is not used, all women in the given age and nativity group are referred to. This is an important matter of usage in this study and should be borne in mind by the reader.

It is of further interest to note that there are marked differences between foreign-born white women living in communities of different size, although they are not as great as among natives. Thus all foreign-born white women living in cities of over 100,000 had a ratio of 679 while those in rural communities had one of 998, a difference of 47 per cent. If all the foreign-born white women living in cities had the same ratio of children as those living in the rural districts, they would have 698,855 more children. This number is sufficient to maintain a stationary population of 8,613,000, or slightly less than the entire population of Canada in 1921. It is clear from these figures that the depressing effects of city life on the birth rate are not confined to the native women. The effects of city life on foreign-born white women are indeed more marked than one might expect in view of the habits and customs of family life which the foreign born bring with them.

TABLE 62.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY NATIVITY AND MARITAL CONDITION, FOR COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES IN THE UNITED STATES: 1920

NATIVITY AND MARITAL CONDITION	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				
	Cities				Rural districts
	100,000 inhabitants and over	25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants	10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants	2,500 to 10,000 inhabitants	
Native white women:					
All women	341	390	434	477	721
Married, widowed, and divorced women	512	554	608	646	899
Foreign-born white women:					
All women	679	766	861	873	998
Married, widowed, and divorced women	819	901	988	995	1,092

	25,000 inhabitants and over	2,500 to 25,000 inhabitants	Rural districts
Native white women:			
All women	355	459	721
Married, widowed, and divorced women	525	630	899
Foreign-born white women:			
All women	697	867	998
Married, widowed, and divorced women	836	991	1,092

The further comparison of the ratios of children to women in communities of different sizes shows that for both nativity groups, for all women and for married, widowed, or divorced women, there is a steady decline in ratio of children as the size of the community increases. These data are summarized in Table 62.

Here we see, too, that if cities of less than 25,000 are compared with those of over 25,000 there is a marked difference between them. This is true for the foreign-born white women as well as the native white women. The ratio of children to native white women in cities of under 25,000 is 29.3 per cent higher than the ratio for the larger cities for all women and 20 per cent higher for married, widowed, or divorced women; for foreign-born white women the per cents are 24.4 and 18.5, respectively. These are very significant differences and the two nativity groups are much alike. Life in the larger cities seems to affect the native and the foreign-born women in much the same degree although the ratio of children is, absolutely, much higher for the foreign born in all sizes of cities. As between the smaller cities (under 25,000) and the rural districts the native and foreign-born women show decided differences. Whereas among native white women there is a very large increase in ratio of children in the rural districts, amounting to 57 per cent for all native white women and 42.7 per cent for native white married women the foreign-born white women show only small increases, namely, 15.1 per cent and 10.2 per cent for all foreign-born white women and foreign-born white married women, respectively. This rather slight difference between the ratios of children among foreign-born white women in small cities and the rural districts is exactly what we should expect if it is urban life that lies at the basis of the rapid decline in the birth rate of the foreign born as well as the native whites. The habits of thought and the attitudes of mind regarding family life which foreign-born women have when they arrive here can not be sloughed off at once. But a difference of 43.2 per cent in the ratio of children to all foreign-born white women in the cities of over 25,000 as compared with the rural districts may be taken as evidence that the process of breaking up Old World habits of thought and action as they affect family life gets well under way in the larger cities, even in the first generation. In the smaller cities (under 25,000) and in the rural districts where the obstacles to customary family life are less pronounced, there is comparatively little departure from the birth rate of the old country.

"OLD" AND "NEW" IMMIGRATION

It should be further noted that the foreign-born population of the cities of over 25,000 is more largely made up of new immigrants than the foreign-born population of the smaller cities and the rural districts. The domicile of the foreign born thus appears to be more important than the distinction between old and new immigration in determining the number of children born. This, too, in spite of the fact that the practices of birth control have made far more headway in those countries from which the old immigrants come than in those from which new immigrants come. Of course, our immigrants, both old and new, have come to a large extent from rural communities abroad, hence there has probably been less difference in the extent to which they knew about methods of birth control before coming than the general birth rates of their respective countries would indicate.

The general belief that the new immigrants have excessively high birth rates is without any basis in fact if we compare them with the old immigrants who came to us in the latter half of the last century from the rural communities, as the new immigrants do to-day, or with our own rural population a generation or two ago. Even to-day in the rural districts of the Southern States, the ratio of children to all native white women (about 840) is higher than the ratio for foreign-born white women in the entire United States, 779; and it is only about 16 per cent less than that for foreign-born white women in the rural districts. For married women only, the differences are even less. There is, therefore, nothing abnormally high about the birth rate of the new immigrants. They have about the birth rate that would be expected from a rural peasant people who have not yet felt the full pressure of modern city life.

This is not to say, however, that the new immigrants do not have higher birth rates than old immigrants in the same localities or in places of similar size. Table 25 shows that the new immigrants do have higher ratios than the old under quite similar conditions. What is said above is meant to point out that the birth rates of the new immigrants are not abnormally high according to an absolute standard.

TEMPORARY AND PERMANENT INCREASES

In Chapter VIII an attempt was made to estimate the excess of children in different localities available for, (*a*) increase temporarily, that is, as long as the age and sex constitution and the death rates remain as they were in 1920, and (*b*) permanent increase, that is, when the age and sex constitution become those of a stationary population having the specific death rates of 1920 (Table 60).[3] On

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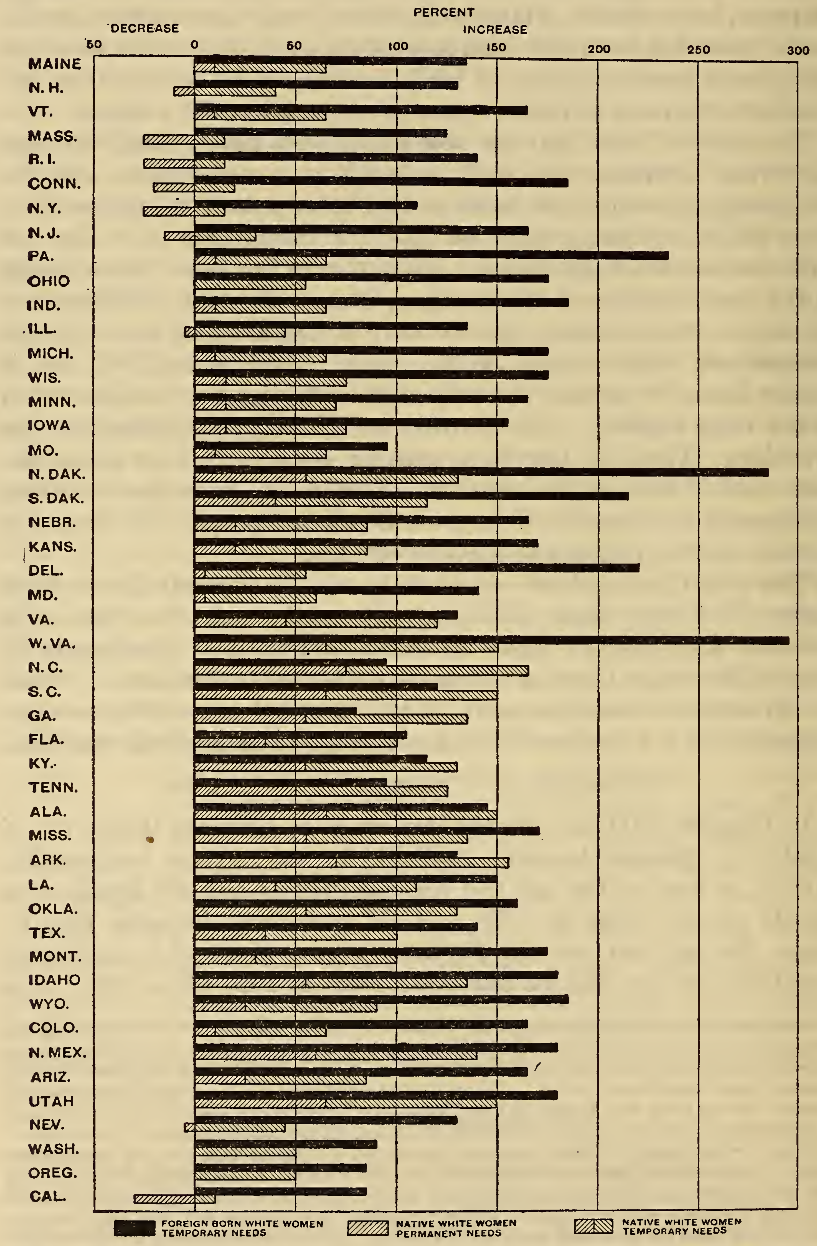
[3] These terms *temporary* and *permanent* may need some further explanation here. If a population has many young people so that its death rate is low, it is obvious that fewer children are needed to keep up its numbers than would be needed by a population having a larger proportion of old people and, therefore, having a higher death rate. Now if the former of these populations also has a larger proportion of its women in the age group 20 to 44 than the latter, it may have a considerably lower ratio of children under 5 to its childbearing women than the second population and still keep up its numbers. It is the ratio of children to women needed in 1920 to maintain the numbers of a population that we call its temporary needs. With a declining birth rate, all populations are more or less rapidly approaching the age grouping that will prevail in a stationary population (see p. 159). When they arrive at this stage they will need quite a different ratio of children to women to maintain their numbers from that they now need. This we have called the permanent needs of a population. If these permanent needs are not met by a group having the age constitution of a stationary population, there will be a decline in numbers. This supposes, of course, that there is no immigration or emigration into or out of the group.

FIGURE 12.—PER CENT THE RATIO OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 TO ALL NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE IS IN EXCESS OF TEMPORARY AND PERMANENT REPLACEMENT NEEDS, AND PER CENT THE RATIO OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 TO ALL FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE IS IN EXCESS OF TEMPORARY REPLACEMENT NEEDS, FOR EACH STATE: 1920. (SEE DETAILED TABLE NO. III)



this basis it was found that in the United States as a whole the native population had a 70 per cent excess of children available for temporary increase, as compared with a 150 per cent excess available among the foreign-born population. The per cent available for permanent increase among the natives was only 15 per cent, however. Not a very large excess.[4]

These excesses over both temporary and permanent needs in the country as a whole are of interest but they are far less important than the differences in different localities within the country. The amount of variation here is rather surprising. In the New England and Pacific divisions the excess over temporary needs in the native population is only 25 per cent, while in the South Atlantic and East South Central divisions, the excesses are 130 per cent and 135 per cent, respectively. These are certainly marked differences and call attention to one of the important results of this study, namely, the fact that the rate of reproduction is much greater in the rural South than in the industrialized North. When the figures for excess over temporary needs among the native born and foreign born are compared we find that it is far greater among the foreign born, save in the South. Even there the foreign born have a somewhat larger excess than the natives except in the East South Central division where the natives have the larger excess.

If we compare communities of different sizes in respect to their ratios of children as related to temporary and permanent maintenance needs, we find that in the native population the larger cities show comparatively small excess even over temporary needs and that very few of them show any excess over permanent needs. Indeed, for their permanent needs practically all cities except the smaller ones of the Southern and Mountain States, show a deficiency of children to native white women. That is to say, in practically the entire city population of the United States, the native born do not have enough children to maintain their numbers when their age and sex composition come to approximate that of a stationary population.

In comparison with the natives in the cities the foreign-born white women in the same communities show much larger excesses over temporary needs. Only in the larger cities in the Pacific States do the foreign-born white women show an excess of less than 100 per cent.

In the rural population the native white women in all parts of the country have children considerably in excess of both temporary and permanent maintenance needs. They are least in New England (65 per cent above temporary needs and 10 per cent above permanent needs), the Middle Atlantic States (85 per cent and 25 per cent), and the Pacific States (75 per cent and 20 per cent), and greatest in the Southern States (165 per cent and 80 per cent and 155 per cent and 75 per cent). The excesses of children over maintenance needs among the rural foreign-born white women are larger in all communities than those of the natives. In the entire United States the rural foreign-born women have an excess over temporary maintenance of 210 per cent and in no division do they fall below 145 per cent which is the excess in the Pacific States. It is well to note here again that if the excess over temporary replacement needs of the *rural* natives is compared with that of *all* the foreign born (125 per cent and 150 per cent, respectively), the differences are not very large though they are in favor of the foreign born.

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[4] There is no need of calculating the excess available for permanent increase among the foreign born because practically all of their children automatically take their place among the natives in the course of time. Thus there is no permanent foreign-born group in the sense given to that term here.

In view of this situation and considering the large proportion of all foreign-born women found in the larger cities—66.5 per cent of the total number live in cities of over 25,000—it would not be surprising if the native *rural* women of the United States should have a higher ratio of children than *all* foreign-born women in the near future. The restriction of immigration, the changes in its source, and the passing of a considerable number of our new immigrant women out of the childbearing age are almost certain to result in a rapid decline in the ratio of children to foreign-born women by 1930; while there is no reason to anticipate especially rapid changes in the birth rate of the rural native population during this decade.

As one reflects upon what is happening in the cities one wonders why it is that so many of the people who are most anxious to see immigration greatly restricted are also apparently anxious to move the immigrant from the city to the country. One is inclined to think that no more effective device for curtailing the increase of our new immigrants could possibly have been devised than their settling in the larger cities. It seems unlikely that if the Nordics had planned, with diabolical cunning, to hasten the sterilization of the new immigrants they could have hit upon anything one-half as effective as making them settle in the larger cities.

RATIOS AMONG NEGROES

The ratios of children to Negro women show nothing essentially different from those of native white women. The contrast between urban and rural ratios is the same as for the whites but is even more marked. The urban Negro women were scarcely producing enough children to keep up the urban population of Negroes in 1920: a clear case of race suicide. The ratio of children to all Negro women necessary to maintain temporarily the urban Negro population is 328 but the actual ratio to all Negro women is only 293. Even when allowance is made for considerable omissions in the enumeration of Negro children we see that the urban Negroes as a whole are barely maintaining their numbers. Under present conditions then, it appears that with the increasing urbanization of the Negro his rate of increase is quite likely to decline rather rapidly in the near future. There is, indeed, a possibility that the ratio of children to Negro women in the cities in 1920 was a little lower than it would normally be, due to the quite recent movement of Negroes into our northern cities. It is difficult to believe, however, that the deficit thus resulting would make the difference between maintenance and race suicide. It is also worth noting that there is a steady decline in ratio of children to Negro women as the size of community increases.

The situation among the Negroes leads one to wonder whether birth control may not lead to the practical sterilization of that part of our population, both white and Negro, which has only a small stake in the development and control of our cilivization, as well as in that part of our population which has the largest economic stake. The most drastic practice of birth control might thus become the characteristic of the social classes at the two extremes of the social scale—the most favored and the least favored. If this tendency should appear in all groups having very low incomes, after they have learned of birth control, the eugenist who is alarmed over the increase of the ne'er-do-wells could cease to worry, placing full faith in the crusade of birth control to solve the problems of quality in our population.

The "Other colored" in our population show the same general tendencies as the foreign-born whites. As far as the Japanese can be distinguished from the others they do not appear to have excessively high birth rates, not as high as the Chinese and Indians. This seems quite in keeping with the birth rates in Japan. There is considerable likelihood, however, that our ratios of children among the Japanese are too low because of the fact that in 1920 a large number of the Japanese women 20 to 44 had not been in this country long enough to have as many children under 5 as they would ultimately have. But even if this is the case there is no reason to believe that the orientals are naturally more prolific than the Europeans. The environmental conditions under which they live determine their birth rate just as among Europeans. The proof of this is that the ratios of children to "Other colored" women are higher in the rural districts than in the cities and also that in Japan the birth rate declines as the size of the community increases.

RATIOS AMONG MINERS

Everywhere miners have higher ratios of children than other groups by whom they are surrounded. This is true for miners not only in this country but elsewhere. Mining seems to attract age groups favorable to large ratios of children, and it also seems to couple with this the rural environment favorable to large families. No doubt the fact that miners' wives work at home as a rule is also an important element in the situation. That in this country many miners are foreign born is also a factor of importance. For obvious reasons we can not compare urban and rural miners.

RELIGION AND SIZE OF FAMILY

We have been able to find but one clear case of the influence of religion on the size of the family. This is in Utah. There seems to be no doubt that Mormonism encourages the raising of large families. But even here we find very marked differences between the cities and the rural districts. Religion seems to have but little influence in preventing the decrease of the size of the family when it comes into competition with urban influences making for the limitation of the family. There is reason to think that this is true among the Catholics as well as among Protestants. In Catholic communities the ratios of children are often quite high but how much of this ratio can be attributed to the influence of religion, how much to foreign birth, how much to low economic status, and how much to essential rural-mindedness no one can decide. Our study, then, contributes little to the determination of the influence of religion on the size of the family. But it does seem to indicate that even in closely-knit religious groups the birth rate is on the decline.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL GROUPS

It appears from the above that what has ordinarily been called "race suicide" is a misnomer. There is no race suicide except, possibly, among urban Negroes. The groups that are failing to reproduce are not racial groups, they are economic and social classes. If we want any generic term to express this tendency we should rather speak of "urban suicide." It is in the urban population that the birth rate seems likely to fall below the maintenance level in the near future. But even the term "urban suicide" is, to a certain extent, misleading. The present situation is perhaps best described by the term "white-collar suicide"; for it is in the clean-handed jobs that there appears to be real group suicide in the sense that a group is failing to reproduce itself. How long it will be before the hand workers follow the example of the "white-collar" class and refuse to raise enough children to reproduce themselves can not be told, but it seems quite likely that the term "urban suicide" will, before long, be a true description of the situation.

DECLINE IN NATURAL INCREASE

One very general conclusion arising from the consideration of all these different ratios of children to women in their relation to a stationary population (Chap. VIII) is that our present rates of natural increase as given by subtracting the death rate from the birth rate are misleading. We are rapidly approaching the time when our natural increase will be scarcely more than half of what it now is. We are living to-day on our capital, so to speak, that is, we have the low death rates and *relatively* high birth rates largely because we have had a rapidly increasing population in the recent past. When a population is increasing rapidly it always has a large proportion of its numbers in the younger age groups where deaths are few and where childbearing women are numerous. If the birth rate has been declining for some time, however, even though there should be no further actual decline in the average number of children born to each woman, the crude birth rate will continue to decline for the next 40 years because of the changing age constitution of the population. For the same reason the death rate will begin to rise as the proportion of the population over forty increases with the net result that the rate of natural increase, being cut into from both ends, will decline rather rapidly. This tendency should be noticeable in this country by 1940, and should be quite marked by 1950. By 1960 our rate of natural increase certainly will not be more (probably less) than half of what it was in 1920 (about 10 per thousand) unless some very powerful agent arises to stimulate the birth rate in a way we can not now foresee.

RACIAL DIFFERENCES

Before passing on to the more philosophical reflections aroused by this study one other rather general conclusion should be stated. It is that the ratio of children to women in particular groups is not primarily or even in any significant degree the result of racial differences between groups or even of nationality differences, if by *nationality* anything more than a particular environment is meant. These differential rates arise out of the different social situations—urban life and rural life, hand-working and head-working, mining and clerical work, etc.—in which different groups find themselves. This point should be insisted on quite strongly in view of the very common belief that biological differences between groups often lie at the basis of differences in birth rates. That there are biological differences resulting in differential birth rates would not be denied. What would be denied is that they are group differences, unless it can be shown by a strong array of evidence that different kinds of selective processes have been at work in different groups and that one effect of these different processes has been to select in one group those people for survival who had a biological tendency toward a high birth rate, while in another group those selected for survival were those having an hereditary bent toward a lower birth rate. Attention has been called to the possibility of selection being a factor in the differential birth rate but there is no evidence that it is of appreciable importance at the present time. The only biological differences between people of which we can be certain are the *individual* differences between people; not differences between groups. That there are any inherent or hereditary differences in the fecundity of the Scotch and Italians, the New England Yankees and the Poles seems exceedingly doubtful. All the difference we actually find between these groups in the matter of birth rates can be accounted for on the basis of differences in their environing conditions, and to bring in other factors, heredity, for example, is, as the theologians say, a work of supererogation.

REFLECTIONS UPON POPULATION GROWTH

A study such as this shows beyond doubt that the growth of population, particularly in our cities, is being controlled more or less consciously. That population growth has always been more or less controlled by the community is recognized by students of the subject but it is not generally recognized by the rank and file of intelligent people. It is a very common belief that modern birth control gives man his first real control of his growth in numbers. This is by no means the case. Scores of practices calculated to control man's growth in numbers, among peoples of all stages of culture, might be cited to show that the community has seldom been indifferent to the practical problems of population growth. It is only relatively recently in human history, and chiefly in the history of what we may call the Western World, that a policy of *laissez faire* with regard to population growth has developed. This has come about partly through the teachings of various institutions (notably the church) but is chiefly due to the abundance of land open to settlement and exploitation by Europeans during the last 400 or 500 years.

To-day the control of population growth is becoming common in many of our communities and this new effort at control raises many important problems. As yet most people are only dimly aware that a momentous change is taking place because of this effort to control population growth. The time has not yet come when any considerable part of our people can be brought to consider seriously the meaning of the facts of population growth set forth in this and other studies. The fact that there is a differential birth rate by which the actual and potential rates of population increase in different groups, classes, and nations are greatly affected, is one of the most significant facts of our times, yet only a few people know of it and of these few only a very small proportion see any significance in it. Furthermore, practically all those who consider this differential birth rate worthy of study do so on the assumption or belief that the bearing and rearing of children is a matter of individual choice or nationality differences (often wrongly called racial differences in referring to our foreign born). They believe that the less desirable people, biologically, are the ones who are raising the most children, with the result that the better biological types are being swamped by the worse. Seldom do they concern themselves with the attempt to evaluate the movement for the control of population from the social as well as the biological standpoint. Consequently the methods of control proposed generally look to influencing directly the choice of individuals, either in the direction of raising larger or smaller families as is deemed desirable, or toward the exclusion from the country of those nationalities having high birth rates, because they tend to swamp the older stock with its low birth rate. The exclusion method is effective because the exclusion of the foreign born, of course, prevents their contributing to the next generation, but the other method has little or no influence as long as the constant, indirect, and insidious influences of the general conditions of life are in opposition to the supposedly intelligent direct influence of ideas of duty and right. It does no good to preach at certain classes that they should have more children or fewer children as long as the conditions under which they live emphasize the personal advantages to be derived from small families, or large families, as the case may be.

The newer movement of population control, like all previous systems of control, represents an effort on the part of man to adapt himself to the conditions under which he finds himself living. Unlike older systems, it represents the conscious effort of individuals to make a personal adaptation rather than a settled community policy supposed to be for the good of the group. It is thus individualistic and represents a more or less personal reaction to environment, based primarily upon the individual's valuation, at a particular time, of the *goods* to be gained from life. Naturally such control in general results in an adaptation to immediate pressures of a purely personal sort rather than to more fundamental human and racial considerations. The very nature of individual, personal control of population growth is to make it depend upon the individual's notion of what is good for him personally at a given moment. Thus it comes about that what appears an excellent adaptation to the individual at one time may appear foolish and shortsighted to him at another time. It may also seem even more shortsighted from the point of view of one who is trying to find some larger and relatively permanent meaning in life. Individual or personal control of population growth in modern society is almost certain to lead to such strenuous efforts for individual adaptation, that is to say, such strenuous efforts to attain conventional success, that most people will overlook some of the most fundamental aspects of life. Engrossed by efforts to attain personal success few stop to ask whether the environment, that is, the social organization within which we live, should not be adapted to our needs as human beings rather than that we should attempt to adjust ourselves individually to its demands on our time, our energy, and our thought.

If it should happen that one people or nation developed an environment or social organization better adapted to essential human needs than the social organizations of other nations, it would probably in time outnumber the other nations and gradually crowd them and their civilizations from the earth. It is for this reason that it is important to take stock of the present processes of population growth in our civilization. If we neglect doing so much longer it may be too late to change, if the need of change is indicated.

If we hope and believe that our own particular civilization can make some lasting contribution to future ages we cannot fail to be concerned at weaknesses in it which may cut short the period during which it might add to these contributions or even prevent its youthful promise from developing into the achievements of maturity. It may be that the rise and fall of peoples is beyond human control, but to-day we are loath to admit such a possibility. We believe, as never before, in our power to control our destiny. But of course, we can only exercise this power if we understand the social processes in which we move.

Changes in the reproductive life of a people are certainly among the most fundamental of all changes and failure to understand the processes bringing them about can not but result in disaster. It is not true, as so many think, that natural tendencies or instincts are sufficient guides to conduct. There is no natural equilibrium of hereditary tendencies in man. Men are what they are because of the stability and direction given to natural or hereditary tendencies by their surroundings.

As applied to the processes of population growth this means that when the reproductive vitality of a people undergoes rapid changes, some equilibrium achieved in the past has been upset and we must search out the causes if we are to be in position to control these changes. This study has shown that the most important cause of the present decline in reproduction in this country is urban living. Modern cities seem to sap a part of the essential vigor of their populations. They do not provide the conditions of life in which people easily and naturally strike a healthy balance between the impulses to self-development and self-achievement and those leading to racial continuance. The large cities show unmistakable signs of lack of effective reproductive vigor. Preoccupation with the work of modern industry and commerce and living in places where there is little "elbow room" apparently are leading to the limitation of births to such an extent that whole communities will soon be having fewer births than deaths.

Reproduction is essential to any racial achievement. Whether it is essential to individual achievement under our present ideals of value is less obvious. Indeed the conduct of great numbers of people not only inferentially denies that reproduction is essential to individual achievement, but even affirms that it stands in the way of it. It is here that the crux of the whole matter is to be found. It seems exceedingly doubtful whether any civilization that regularly sterilizes a large part of its upper classes (and perhaps, soon, its lower classes) can be called vigorous. Furthermore, it is surely a matter for debate whether any civilization that issues so rapidly in sterile, or semisterile, upper classes has much of value to pass on to future generations. The very fact that the people in the upper classes are almost wholly preoccupied with the attainment of conventional economic and social successes means that they have given little energy and thought to finding out what is good for human nature as a whole. They live a life in which some of the fundamental needs of the human animal are almost totally neglected. They implicitly deny by their conduct that man has large spiritual needs which can not be satisfied except by healthy relations with his fellowmen in intimate groups.

Surely the life of our time can serve a better purpose than warning future generations how *not to live.* This last may be our chief contribution to the future unless we study more carefully the needs of the whole man and use our great resources to experiment in satisfying these needs. If we do this we may make a large, positive contribution to the development of a more satisfying social order than has yet been evolved. But we can never achieve much in this direction until we are willing to place fundamental human needs above the attainment of wealth and social position.

This is not the place to undertake the statement of what seems to be fundamental traits or needs of human nature. But the belief may be expressed that the need of man for children, and for sharing in the future through devoting a considerable part of his energy and time to them, is just as fundamental as his need for food, although the lack is not as quickly felt. Without close contact with children, men and women lose touch with many of the finer aspects of life and tend to develop harsh and unlovely traits of character. They tend to become preoccupied with their own feelings and concerns and lose the capacity to understand and sympathize with the feelings and aspirations of young life. In a word, there are many windows opening upon life, which are closed to the people who live apart from child-life. Any social organization which makes it impossible to satisfy these racial needs not only can not long endure but is not worth trying to preserve. In the very nature of things it is self-destructive and can endure only as long as the host (other areas of greater reproductive vitality) on which it is parasitic consents to remain a host.

Beyond the fact that the life of a parasite is contingent upon the endurance of the host, human parasites suffer a most disastrous weakening of their moral fiber. It is generally recognized that individuals who are parasitic become degenerate in a short while. It is not so generally recognized that communities which are parasitic are likely to develop a degenerate strain, a mode of living and habits of thought which are less than human. It may not be too much to say that any settled community or any class that does not reproduce itself is in certain respects parasitic and that little in the way of useful contributions to larger human progress can be expected from such groups. The people who are in these parasitic groups are not living fully, completely, healthily.

The problem then is that of getting childlife properly distributed among all the healthy people of our national community, that all may share in the direct and personal responsibilities of their child rearing and thus share also in the continuous process of reeducation and wider participation in life to which children subject their elders. If our present urban-industrial organization has unbalanced the reproductive life of large groups of people as has been contended, then it behooves us to take thought how we may again achieve an equilibrium in this respect which will be beneficial to all, severally, and collectively. This can scarcely be done without very extensive changes in our present social organization.

The changes which seem to be most needed in order to achieve this new equilibrium have to do with the relieving of crowding and congestion in our cities and the altering of the pace at which we live. We must undertake the development of an environment, or conditions of life, in which practically all people can live what seems to them the *good* life, while they are raising families of the proper size. We must recognize that children are a normal adjunct of human life; that without intimate contact with them we are less than human; and that we must organize so that the work of all of us can be done in the best and most satisfying way, at the same time that we are contributing to the next generation in such numbers as may be good for the enlargement of our own spiritual outlook, good for the health and mental development of the children, and good for the community both spiritually and economically. We must have "elbow room," especially for the children, and we must have time to achieve a reasonable amount of personal success, while living a wholesome family life. We must consider adjusting our economic and social organization to *our* needs rather than attempt to make man adjust himself to an organization in which the production of economic goods and the making of money are the chief aims.

The advocacy of population policies which do not recognize the close relation between the environmental pressures to which people are subjected and the birth rate can have no issue under present conditions. It is like trying to change the course of a river while ignoring the law of gravity. People react to the constant and subtle pressures of environment, even though they are largely unconscious of the existence of such pressures, much more surely than they do to the preachments of those who attack their alleged shortcomings directly. The way to effectuate a population policy is not merely through pointing out individual duty in the matter of raising families, but also and chiefly, through making such alterations in environment, that the natural inclination to reproduction will not be thwarted because its exercise means the curtailing of opportunities on which greater value is placed. If it is urged that the scale of values by which the desirability of opportunity is judged must be altered before reproduction will be allotted a definite place in modern life, the answer would be that our scale of values itself is largely a product of the conditions under which we live and that changes in the general environment about us will alter, almost insensibly, the scale of values by which we judge of the desirability of different kinds of conduct.

Again it may be urged that all other phases of the problem of population growth are of small concern to us in this country as compared with that of adjusting the conditions of everyday living to meet the full needs of human beings. The very fact that only a few people realize how our modern urban industrialism has uprooted man from the small-locality group in which his evolution took place, makes this problem all the more serious. Also, few people appreciate the dislocation in human relations involved in moving from small groups to large, and still fewer appreciate the deep-lying disturbance in the mental equilibrium of the race which is accompanying our modern industrial development. The processes of population growth are being profoundly affected by this substitution of urban life for village life, and we are not likely to exercise a wise control over these processes until we see the close relation they bear to the everyday conditions of living by which we are surrounded.

Since there is this very intimate relation between human reproduction and environment (the conditions of our everyday living) and since this study shows beyond doubt that at present the general set of conditions which we call urban is quite likely to lead in the not distant future not only to a stationary state of population (barring migration) in the larger cities, but even to a state of decreasing numbers, it behooves us to study the environmental conditions underlying reproduction more carefully than we have done hitherto. If the most significant difference between an environment leading to group suicide and one leading to group increase is the difference between urban and rural as has been contended, then this difference needs more careful analysis than it has received up to this time.

That the urban environment of to-day is leading to urban suicide does not mean that this is a necessary consequence of living in non-agricultural communities. There is no good reason to think that industry and commerce can not be carried on in communities which are not excessively urbanized as are our larger cities to-day. It is no doubt possible to develop a civilization in which commerce and industry will occupy the major portion of the population and yet one which will not issue in an excessive urbanism, although it has not yet been done in the Western World. It appears quite probable that approximately 18 to 20 per cent of our population will, in the near future, be able to supply our needs for the agricultural products which we can grow at home. This would leave 80 per cent or more to occupy themselves in industry, commerce, the arts, and other types of work now carried on in the cities or in mines. As matters now stand every increase in agricultural efficiency has contributed directly to the development of cities and particularly to the growth of the large cities. The consequence has been that the intensity of urban living has greatly increased and hosts of people have found themselves living under conditions distinctly unfavorable to the raising of families.

Now it does not appear that there is anything in the nature of nonfarm work and living that makes necessary the present crowding into large cities and denial of elbow room and breathing space to a large proportion of our people. It has only happened this way because there has been no adequate planning for the human factor in modern life. When once we become fully aware of the way in which the human factor is subordinated to the purely material factors in modern urban living we shall probably revolt against the present organization of our life in cities and demand that a new system be developed to replace the present one. It is not at all difficult to imagine an industrial organization which will make it possible for *all* workers to live under conditions far better adapted to human needs than is the case at present. Furthermore, such an organization may also be more efficient than the existing order. In other words, the industrial order of the future will aim to preserve all the real economies of the present order at the same time that it eliminates its crowding and its inhuman pressure upon people. This is no place to expand upon this theme, but one can envisage industrial and commercial *areas* replacing congested *cities*, homes taking the place of beehive apartments, a new system of retail distribution supplanting the "downtown shopping district," the use of electric power rendering possible the break-up of huge plants, and many other changes which will make it possible for people to live more in the open, away from the congested areas where so many of the poorer paid workers now live.

We do not believe that the worst features of our present urbanism are at all essential to a highly efficient economic system. They are accidental and in time can be sloughed off to the benefit of all concerned. When this comes to pass the ratios of children will probably be much more alike in different types of communities than is now the case.

APPENDIX

FERTILITY IN ENGLAND AND WALES: 1911

In Table A we have the fertility of completed marriages in England and Wales according to the time of marriage (1886 to 1851 and earlier), according to the age of wife at marriage (15 years and over), and according to the general social status of the family. Three facts stand out clearly in this table: First, as the social status of the class becomes better, the size of the family decreases. Thus for all ages and for all durations of marriage, women in the unskilled class (V) had borne 528 children per 100 couples, those in the skilled class (III) 489, and those in the upper and middle classes (I) 389 (standardized rates). Of course, the survival rate is higher in the classes of higher social status but not enough higher to make up for the deficiency in births, so that the lower classes contribute more than proportionally to the next generation. It should also be noted that miners' wives (VII) bear more children than the wives of textile workers (VI) and farm laborers (VIII). The latter, however, raise more of their children so that they have the largest surviving families of any of the groups compared here.

The second outstanding fact is that there has been a steady decline in the number of children born in all social classes since 1851 or earlier. Among miners the decline apparently set in a little later than among other groups. The decline in the number of births has been much greater than the decline in the number of survivors in all classes. This is probably due to a general improvement in the standard of living and in the sanitary and medical service available. One of the surest indications of improved living conditions is a lower death rate.

The third fact of importance is that the number of children born varies with the age of the wife at marriage. For example, the postponement of marriage by women from 20–24 to 25–29 means for the general population a decline of 192 children or 31 per cent (from 620 to 428) per 100 families, and it is much the same per cent in all classes.

Table B, showing the distribution of completed families by size, needs little comment. For the families where there are children, one and two child families are not at all common. Together they comprise only 5. 2 per cent of all completed families, being slightly more numerous than families with 14 or more children. Just less than one-half (47.1 per cent) of all the completed families having children had 7 children or fewer, while 38 per cent of all the families had 8 to 11 children.

Table C is very interesting as showing the contribution of children to the population by the least fertile and most fertile groups of the population. Thus the least fertile 25 per cent of the marriages of completed fertility (column 6) contribute only 2.1 per cent of the births, while the most fertile 25 per cent (75–100) contribute 52 per cent, and the most fertile 10 per cent (90–100) contribute 24.8 per cent. Where wives were married at age 20–24, the percentage contributed by the least fertile 25 per cent (6.8 per cent) is larger than for wives at all ages of marriage (2.1 per cent) and the per cent contributed by the most fertile 25 per cent (43.8 per cent) is less than the percentage contributed by the most fertile 25 per cent (52 per cent) of all marriages of completed fertility. The significance of the contribution of the least fertile part of the population to the next generation may be more fully realized if we know that one, two, and three child families together with childless marriages constitute 41.8 per cent of all completed families, but that they contribute only 10.9 per cent of the next generation, that is, just over one-tenth of the children of the next generation.[1] Here we see in the most marked manner the results of the differential birth rate in the past generation in England and Wales. It may be interesting to note, however, that when the married population is graded according to fertility without regard to social classes the least fertile 10 per cent of all marriages produced 7.1 per cent of the children, while the most fertile 10 per cent produced 12.5 per cent of the children. For the least fertile one-quarter, the per cent is 19.7 and for the most fertile one-quarter it is 29.6.[2] Thus it appears that the difference in fertility in England and Wales in the last generation was not so much a difference between social classes as a difference between individuals. There is some reason to think that this is not so much the case to-day.

Table D shows that there is also a direct relation between social status and age of men at marriage. Unskilled laborers marry earlier than skilled laborers, and skilled laborers marry earlier than men in the upper and middle classes. Miners marry earlier than any other group. It would appear that the same forces disposing to large or small families after marriage also create a disposition to marry earlier or later as the case may be.

These data for England and Wales are given not because we have any data that can be compared with them directly but because it was thought it might be interesting to know how the differential birth rate has affected the growth of another country and it might help us to evaluate the tendencies in our own population a little better.

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[1] Data for these calculations will be found in Census of England and Wales, 1911, Vol. XIII, Fertility of Marriage, Part II, pp. 5 and 7.

[2] For data see Census of England and Wales, 1911, Vol. XIII, Fertility of Marriage, Part II, p. cxix.

TABLE A.—ENGLAND AND WALES—MARRIAGES WHERE THE WIFE'S CENSUS AGE EXCEEDED 45 YEARS. COMPARISON FOR EACH SOCIAL CLASS AND FOR ALL CLASSES OF THE FERTILITY OF WIVES MARRIED AT SIMILAR AGES BUT AT DIFFERENT DATES [1]

DATE OF MARRIAGE	Duration of marriage in years	Total population	Occupied only	SOCIAL CLASS [2]							
				I	II (occupied only)	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
		ALL AGES OF WIFE AT MARRIAGE									
		Children born per 100 couples									
1881-1886	25-30	551	554	422	493	556	562	609	513	684	632
1871-1881	30-40	605	611	497	567	615	616	652	567	717	667
1861-1871	40-50	662	673	593	650	679	673	698	633	760	702
1851-1861	50-60	690	701	625	700	707	700	718	654	759	738
1851 or earlier.	Over 60	697	700	[3] 605	728	681	[3] 740	[3] 698	(4)	(4)	746
		Children surviving per 100 couples									
1881-1886	25-30	425	428	345	393	430	434	451	379	497	521
1871-1881	30-40	454	458	393	438	460	464	470	406	502	534
1861-1871	40-50	473	482	440	479	481	482	480	423	505	535
1851-1861	50-60	464	478	433	492	471	472	466	436	465	527
1851 or earlier.	Over 60	432	436	[3] 378	452	420	[3] 464	[3] 405	(4)	(4)	490
AGE OF WIFE AT MARRIAGE		ALL DURATIONS OF MARRIAGE									
		Children born per 100 couples									
15-19		799	801	637	734	801	804	834	757	904	845
20-24		620	619	488	567	622	628	676	566	747	704
25-29		428	426	351	404	432	431	470	380	527	510
30-34		281	281	230	270	280	283	307	244	349	344
35-44		106	107	83	99	106	108	120	97	134	135
45 and up		3	3	2	3	3	3	4	4	5	3
All ages (crude)		487	489	365	435	504	498	533	457	626	572
All ages (standardized)[5]		487	487	389	451	489	492	528	444	585	556
		Children surviving per 100 couples									
15-19		579	583	488	547	584	588	587	527	630	668
20-24		467	469	389	442	471	476	493	410	533	562
25-29		333	333	289	325	336	337	351	283	382	409
30-34		219	220	193	219	218	222	228	183	251	276
35-44		84	85	70	81	84	86	91	73	100	111
45 and up		2	3	1	2	3	3	3	3	4	3
All ages (crude)		368	372	294	341	382	379	388	331	445	457
All ages (standardized)[5]		368	370	311	352	371	374	386	322	418	444

[1] Census of England and Wales, 1911, Vol. XIII, Fertility of Marriage, Part II, p. xcviii, Table XLIV.

[2] For definition of social class see Table D.

[3] Rates based on less than 100 couples.

[4] Less than 10 couples.

[5] Standardized on all families in England and Wales (wives over 45 years at Census) at each marriage age of wife.

TABLE B.—ENGLAND AND WALES—DISTRIBUTION OF COMPLETED FAMILIES BY SIZE. CHILDREN BORN TO FAMILIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, PER CENT OF THE TOTAL BORN TO COMPLETED FAMILIES OF ALL SIZES [1]

[Only families having children are included in this table]

NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN	Per cent of all completed families having given number of children	Per cent of all completed families having given number of children and fewer	NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN	Per cent of all completed families having given number of children	Per cent of all completed families having given number of children and fewer
1	1.52	1.52	12	5.97	91.08
2	3.66	5.18	13	3.83	94.91
3	5.74	10.92	14	2.32	97.23
4	7.53	18.45	15	1.28	98.51
5	8.69	27.14	16	.73	99.24
6	9.73	36.87	17	.35	99.59
7	10.25	47.12	18	.19	99.78
8	10.67	57.79	19	.09	99.87
9	10.27	68.06	20	.06	99.93
10	9.64	77.70	Over 20	.07	100.00
11	7.41	85.11	All families	100.00	----------

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[1] Census of England and Wales, 1911. Vol. XIII, Fertility of Marriage, Part II, p. xlvi, Table XVII, columns 1, 8, and 15.

TABLE C.—ENGLAND AND WALES—PERCENTAGES OF ALL (LEGITIMATE) BIRTHS RESULTING FROM VARYING PERCENTAGES OF ALL MARRIAGES ARRANGED IN ORDER OF FERTILITY [1]

[This table is to be read as follows: The least fertile 10 per cent of marriages of all durations produced no births, the least fertile 20 per cent produced only 1 per cent of all births, etc.]

PERCENTAGE OF MARRIAGES ARRANGED IN ORDER OF INCREASING FERTILITY		PER CENT OF ALL BIRTHS RESULTING FROM MARRIAGES OF ALL DURATIONS		PER CENT OF ALL BIRTHS RESULTING FROM MARRIAGES OF COMPLETED FERTILITY	
ALL AGES AT MARRIAGE					
Deciles	*Quartiles*	*Deciles*	*Quartiles*	*Deciles*	*Quartiles*
10	—	—	—	—	—
20	—	1.0	—	0.8	—
—	25	—	2.4	—	2.1
30	—	3.8	—	4.2	—
40	—	8.7	—	9.8	—
50	50	15.1	15.1	17.7	17.7
60	—	23.7	—	27.9	—
70	—	35.3	—	40.7	—
—	75	—	42.4	—	48.0
80	—	50.5	—	56.2	—
90	—	70.5	—	75.2	—
100	—	100.0	—	100.0	—
MARRIAGES OF WIVES MARRIED AT 20 TO 24 YEARS OF AGE					
Deciles	*Quartiles*	*Deciles*	*Quartiles*	*Deciles*	*Quartiles*
10	—	—	—	0.7	—
20	—	2.4	—	4.4	—
—	25	—	3.7	—	6.8
30	—	6.1	—	9.9	—
40	—	11.1	—	17.2	—
50	50	18.5	18.5	26.2	26.2
60	—	27.7	—	36.9	—
70	—	39.3	—	49.4	—
—	75	—	46.4	—	56.2
80	—	54.2	—	63.5	—
90	—	73.4	—	79.9	—
100	—	100.0	—	100.0	—

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[1] Census of England and Wales, 1911, Vol. XIII, Fertility of Marriage, Part II, p. xlvii, Table XVIII; columns 1, 11, and 12.

TABLE D.—ENGLAND AND WALES—FREQUENCY OF MARRIAGE PER 1,000 MALES AT VARIOUS AGES IN SOCIAL CLASSES [1]

[This table is to be read as follows: Of each 1,000 men in Class Ia, aged 25–34 inclusive, only 399 were married while in Class VII, 683 out of each 1,000 of this age were married]

CLASS [2]	AGE								
	15–	20–	25–	35–	45–	55–	65–	75–	Total over 15 (standardized)
Total	2	145	612	812	824	780	683	503	555
Ia	2	58	399	702	760	747	659	472	458
Ib	1	66	538	817	850	819	721	542	538
I	1	66	522	797	829	797	690	489	523
II	2	112	585	822	849	817	724	525	556
III	2	146	650	848	851	799	691	494	577
IV	2	135	614	835	850	803	698	520	565
V	3	196	615	758	758	715	632	482	533
VI	2	168	656	835	842	783	662	450	573
VII	4	242	683	813	819	762	668	463	581
VIII	1	115	517	708	735	711	649	509	487

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[1] Census of England and Wales, 1911, Vol. XIII, Fertility of Marriage, Part II, p. lxxix, Table XXXIV, division 3.

[2] The classes may be briefly defined as follows:
Class Ia, Chiefly professional.
Ib, Rest of upper and middle classes.
I, Above two combined (upper and middle classes).
II, Retired and unoccupied living on private means.
III, Skilled artisans.
IV, Intermediate between classes III and V.
V, Unskilled workers.
VI, Textile workers.
VII, Miners.
VIII, Agricultural laborers.

DETAILED TABLES

TABLE I.—CHILDREN UNDER 5, WOMEN 20 to 44 YEARS OF AGE, AND CHILDREN
COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY

[Ratio not shown when

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE							
	All women				Married, widowed, or divorced women			
	White		Colored		White		Colored	
	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored
UNITED STATES [2]	14, 654, 457	3, 190, 820	2, 093, 470	60, 831	10, 877, 596	2, 727, 753	1,748,993	54, 371
Cities 100,000 and over	3, 903, 442	1, 691, 945	461, 146	9, 407	2, 597, 700	1, 403, 064	374, 982	8, 581
25,000 to 100,000	1, 587, 825	428, 458	188, 429	2, 817	1, 119, 354	364, 227	155, 835	2, 587
10,000 to 25,000	1, 062, 850	226, 039	114, 380	1, 251	758, 691	197, 088	94, 262	1, 021
2,500 to 10,000	1, 478, 603	235, 910	150, 326	2, 730	1, 092, 006	207, 158	122, 759	2, 430
Rural	6, 621, 737	608, 468	1, 179, 189	44, 626	5, 309, 845	556, 216	1,001,155	39, 752
NEW ENGLAND	933, 325	506, 011	18, 114	455	580, 753	410, 485	13, 775	347
Cities 100,000 and over	266, 074	191, 962	11, 595	128	148, 467	151, 787	9, 052	107
25,000 to 100,000	213, 850	138, 529	3, 083	40	125, 918	110, 695	2, 205	24
10,000 to 25,000	136, 711	69, 026	1, 133	28	83, 666	57, 482	833	21
2,500 to 10,000	117, 256	51, 806	938	99	75, 486	42, 519	671	72
Rural	199, 434	54, 688	1, 365	160	147, 216	48, 002	1, 014	123
MIDDLE ATLANTIC	2, 967, 177	1, 309, 233	159, 063	1, 678	2, 009, 656	1, 105, 714	123, 555	1, 314
Cities 100,000 and over	1, 323, 998	862, 213	109, 179	699	828, 669	702, 948	84, 495	548
25,000 to 100,000	343, 100	129, 855	16, 062	55	230, 256	114, 027	12, 299	47
10,000 to 25,000	241, 042	77, 800	9, 076	38	164, 858	70, 812	7, 375	29
2,500 to 10,000	305, 589	81, 549	8, 543	70	216, 701	73, 796	6, 575	52
Rural	753, 448	157, 816	16, 203	816	569, 172	144, 131	12, 811	638
EAST NORTH CENTRAL	3, 287, 507	691, 168	125, 073	2, 564	2, 446, 331	615, 292	107, 503	2, 139
Cities 100,000 and over	988, 315	408, 515	81, 844	302	685, 754	357, 686	70, 678	239
25,000 to 100,000	449, 518	88, 890	17, 635	113	330, 783	79, 763	15, 247	89
10,000 to 25,000	259, 723	38, 640	7, 791	73	190, 289	34, 822	6, 656	51
2,500 to 10,000	339, 139	41, 761	7, 177	127	251, 708	37, 648	5, 960	95
Rural	1, 250, 812	113, 362	10, 626	1, 949	987, 797	105, 373	8, 962	1, 665
WEST NORTH CENTRAL	2, 026, 314	227, 106	63, 983	5, 629	1, 508, 647	199, 501	53, 633	4, 785
Cities 100,000 and over	387, 167	67, 687	37, 452	102	265, 437	57, 045	31, 624	85
25,000 to 100,000	137, 027	17, 636	4, 697	68	97, 551	14, 889	4, 032	54
10,000 to 25,000	128, 622	11, 391	5, 857	98	91, 782	9, 597	4, 828	58
2,500 to 10,000	200, 266	19, 028	5, 333	105	142, 797	16, 411	4, 365	84
Rural	1, 173, 232	111, 364	10, 644	5, 256	911, 080	101, 559	8, 784	4, 504
SOUTH ATLANTIC	1, 579, 925	61, 483	785, 561	2, 071	1, 235, 310	54, 265	649, 901	1, 746
Cities 100,000 and over	199, 283	27, 190	74, 320	29	142, 160	23, 595	58, 806	21
25,000 to 100,000	155, 458	10, 189	92, 885	34	117, 620	8, 778	76, 450	30
10,000 to 25,000	77, 111	2, 578	35, 880	7	57, 117	2, 266	28, 876	5
2,500 to 10,000	126, 809	4, 237	57, 676	21	96, 351	3, 817	46, 582	15
Rural	1, 021, 264	17, 289	524, 800	1, 980	822, 062	15, 809	439, 187	1, 675
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL	1, 091, 934	11, 789	485, 757	287	880, 956	10, 247	411, 032	236
Cities 100,000 and over	104, 842	4, 673	56, 392	9	77, 014	4, 005	47, 400	6
25,000 to 100,000	59, 719	1, 604	23, 790	4	43, 734	1, 305	19, 808	------
10,000 to 25,000	46, 776	866	29, 945	5	35, 625	750	24, 736	4
2,500 to 10,000	85, 339	1, 179	35, 282	3	66, 211	1, 046	28, 588	3
Rural	795, 258	3, 467	340, 348	266	658, 372	3, 141	290, 500	223
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL	1, 345, 182	89, 557	409, 028	9, 332	1, 114, 994	76, 139	352, 597	8, 076
Cities 100,000 and over	151, 096	18, 173	51, 485	59	112, 398	14, 944	42, 906	51
25,000 to 100,000	99, 599	13, 477	27, 889	199	77, 935	10, 802	23, 766	175
10,000 to 25,000	79, 928	8, 046	23, 484	169	64, 449	6, 269	19, 932	133
2,500 to 10,000	140, 430	6, 962	33, 578	612	113, 699	5, 895	28, 448	506
Rural	874, 129	42, 899	272, 592	8, 293	746, 513	38, 229	237, 545	7, 211

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[1] From a special tabulation, Fourteenth Census.

per 1,000 Women, by Color, Nativity, and Marital Condition, for Divisions and States: 1920[1]

base is less than 100]

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OF AGE				CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE					
	White mothers		Colored mothers		All women			Married, widowed, or divorced women		
	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored	White		Negro	White		Negro
					Native	Foreign born		Native	Foreign born	
UNITED STATES[2]	7, 888, 191	2, 485, 730	1,143,699	55, 610	538	779	546	725	911	654
Cities 100,000 and over	1, 330, 275	1, 149, 607	118, 442	6, 963	341	679	257	512	819	316
25,000 to 100,000	619, 811	328, 001	55, 342	2, 231	390	766	294	554	901	355
10,000 to 25,000	461, 603	194, 663	38, 634	899	434	861	338	608	988	410
2,500 to 10,000	705, 256	206, 061	55, 651	2, 312	477	873	370	646	995	453
Rural	4, 771, 246	607, 398	875, 630	43, 205	721	998	743	899	1, 092	875
NEW ENGLAND	367, 169	378, 104	7, 415	342	393	747	409	632	921	538
Cities 100,000 and over	85, 674	134, 451	4, 347	101	322	700	375	577	886	480
25,000 to 100,000	74, 924	98, 336	1, 163	38	350	710	377	595	885	527
10,000 to 25,000	52, 759	56, 015	548	18	386	811	484	631	974	658
2,500 to 10,000	48, 416	41, 749	604	66	412	806	644	641	982	899
Rural	105, 396	47, 553	753	119	528	870	552	716	991	744
MIDDLE ATLANTIC	1, 272, 550	1, 033, 448	47, 306	1, 147	429	789	297	633	935	383
Cities 100,000 and over	452, 726	579, 625	27, 862	443	342	672	255	546	825	330
25,000 to 100,000	130, 608	112, 064	4, 645	28	381	863	289	567	983	378
10,000 to 25,000	103, 907	80, 364	3, 545	29	431	1, 033	391	630	1, 135	481
2,500 to 10,000	142, 366	84, 364	3, 135	50	466	1, 034	367	657	1, 143	477
Rural	442, 943	177, 031	8, 119	597	588	1, 122	501	778	1, 228	634
EAST NORTH CENTRAL	1, 620, 540	560, 203	36, 991	2, 298	493	811	296	662	910	344
Cities 100,000 and over	355, 977	306, 697	19, 406	184	360	751	237	519	857	274
25,000 to 100,000	185, 444	74, 040	5, 709	76	413	833	324	561	928	374
10,000 to 25,000	117, 147	32, 633	2, 920	41	451	845	375	616	937	439
2,500 to 10,000	162, 143	35, 229	2, 937	84	478	844	409	644	936	493
Rural	799, 829	111, 604	6, 019	1, 913	639	984	566	810	1, 059	672
WEST NORTH CENTRAL	1, 123, 379	192, 866	19, 689	5, 478	554	849	308	745	967	367
Cities 100,000 and over	127, 054	42, 744	8, 262	77	328	632	221	478	749	261
25,000 to 100,000	52, 751	11, 811	1, 480	43	385	670	315	541	793	367
10,000 to 25,000	54, 597	8, 026	1, 995	36	424	705	341	595	836	413
2,500 to 10,000	90, 790	14, 795	1, 961	97	453	778	368	636	902	449
Rural	798, 187	115, 490	5, 991	5, 225	680	1, 037	563	876	1, 137	682
SOUTH ATLANTIC	1, 125, 817	51, 075	519, 620	2, 421	713	831	661	911	941	800
Cities 100,000 and over	80, 919	20, 881	21, 447	17	406	768	289	569	885	365
25,000 to 100,000	71, 404	6, 948	27, 985	32	459	682	301	607	792	366
10,000 to 25,000	38, 058	1, 825	13, 226	7	494	708	369	666	805	458
2,500 to 10,000	69, 819	3, 583	22, 645	29	551	846	393	725	939	486
Rural	865, 617	17, 838	434, 317	2, 336	848	1, 032	828	1, 053	1, 128	989
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL	801, 832	8, 369	277, 670	263	734	710	572	910	817	675
Cities 100,000 and over	39, 330	2, 921	14, 024	6	375	625	249	511	730	295
25,000 to 100,000	24, 255	846	6, 326	1	406	527	266	555	648	319
10,000 to 25,000	21, 636	542	9, 093	9	463	626	304	607	723	368
2,500 to 10,000	44, 003	846	12, 287	7	516	718	348	665	809	430
Rural	672, 608	3, 214	235, 940	240	846	927	693	1, 022	1, 023	812
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL	916, 902	67, 876	222, 582	9, 149	682	758	544	822	892	631
Cities 100,000 and over	55, 729	10, 513	13, 297	55	369	579	258	496	704	310
25,000 to 100,000	37, 406	8, 132	7, 332	144	376	603	263	480	753	309
10,000 to 25,000	37, 250	4, 666	6, 937	89	466	580	295	578	744	348
2,500 to 10,000	71, 943	4, 709	11, 520	487	512	676	343	633	799	405
Rural	714, 574	39, 856	183, 496	8, 374	817	929	673	957	1, 043	772

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[2] District of Columbia included in United States but not in total for South Atlantic division.

TABLE I.—CHILDREN UNDER 5, WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, AND CHILDREN COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE							
	All women				Married, widowed, or divorced women			
	White		Colored		White		Colored	
	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored
MOUNTAIN	490, 512	86, 717	5, 835	13, 091	399, 907	78, 438	5, 166	11, 605
Cities 100,000 and over	66, 371	11, 156	1, 767	168	48, 583	9, 363	1, 515	155
25,000 to 100,000	29, 500	6, 432	1, 013	142	22, 196	5, 628	886	132
10,000 to 25,000	40, 547	7, 101	638	212	30, 610	6, 000	547	172
2,500 to 10,000	71, 123	12, 419	867	257	56, 518	11, 022	792	230
Rural	282, 971	49, 609	1, 550	12, 312	242, 000	46, 425	1, 426	10, 916
PACIFIC	852, 678	200, 679	11, 468	25, 674	657, 365	172, 408	9, 810	24, 086
Cities 100,000 and over	336, 393	93, 299	7, 524	7, 861	245, 541	76, 427	6, 485	7, 332
25,000 to 100,000	100, 054	21, 846	1, 375	2, 162	73, 361	18, 340	1, 142	2, 036
10,000 to 25,000	52, 390	10, 591	576	621	40, 295	9, 090	479	548
2,500 to 10,000	92, 652	16, 969	932	1, 436	72, 535	15, 004	778	1, 373
Rural	271, 189	57, 974	1, 061	13, 594	225, 633	53, 547	926	12, 797
NEW ENGLAND								
MAINE	108, 777	25, 771	257	144	80, 653	21, 045	176	114
Bangor	4, 539	954	45	2	2, 805	726	33	1
Lewiston	3, 856	2, 733	17	-------	2, 289	1, 860	5	-------
Portland	10, 980	3, 607	80	4	7, 050	2, 845	56	3
25,000 to 100,000	19, 375	7, 294	142	6	12, 144	5, 431	94	4
10,000 to 25,000	11, 077	3, 953	23	2	7, 539	3, 038	17	1
2,500 to 10,000	13, 723	3, 890	18	55	9, 866	3, 245	15	44
Rural	64, 602	10, 634	74	81	51, 104	9, 331	50	65
NEW HAMPSHIRE	57, 519	22, 872	106	9	39, 433	18, 349	84	6
Manchester	8, 904	7, 736	16	-------	4, 932	5, 755	9	-------
Nashua	3, 307	2, 359	2	-------	2, 024	1, 844	2	-------
25,000 to 100,000	12, 211	10, 095	18	-------	6, 956	7, 599	11	-------
10,000 to 25,000	11, 996	4, 528	45	4	7, 851	3, 718	37	3
2,500 to 10,000	11, 712	4, 197	18	4	8, 131	3, 412	14	2
Rural	21, 600	4, 052	25	1	16, 495	3, 620	22	1
VERMONT	50, 650	9, 537	100	3	37, 576	8, 230	70	2
10,000 to 25,000	7, 579	1, 865	26	-------	4, 908	1, 579	21	-------
2,500 to 10,000	9, 929	2, 480	25	-------	6, 715	2, 011	17	-------
Rural	33, 142	5, 192	49	3	25, 953	4, 640	32	2
MASSACHUSETTS	478, 829	299, 059	10, 789	222	277, 177	236, 141	8, 040	166
Boston	89, 780	67, 061	4, 384	72	46, 599	50, 652	3, 322	61
Brockton	9, 171	4, 795	123	5	5, 711	3, 990	92	2
Brookline	6, 215	4, 111	196	3	3, 191	1, 417	65	2
Cambridge	13, 349	9, 134	1, 331	10	6, 772	6, 896	979	8
Chelsea	3, 302	4, 887	77	3	1, 751	4, 172	61	2
Chicopee	3, 254	3, 657	1	-------	2, 064	3, 159	1	-------
Everett	4, 854	2, 950	238	-------	3, 047	2, 560	189	-------
Fall River	12, 743	11, 180	71	4	6, 684	8, 867	58	2
Fitchburg	4, 659	3, 701	4	-------	2, 631	3, 032	2	-------
Haverhill	7, 550	3, 676	80	-------	4, 888	3, 018	56	-------
Holyoke	7, 455	5, 827	39	-------	3, 628	4, 330	32	-------
Lawrence	8, 583	11, 076	42	-------	4, 384	9, 159	32	-------
Lowell	13, 326	10, 603	33	3	7, 026	8, 008	25	3
Lynn	12, 914	7, 832	159	3	8, 075	6, 265	135	2
Malden	6, 054	3, 985	110	-------	3, 292	3, 174	77	-------
Medford	6, 158	2, 393	92	1	3, 964	2, 003	59	1
New Bedford	10, 762	14, 232	923	-------	6, 452	11, 051	795	-------
Newton	6, 862	3, 405	186	1	3, 726	1, 908	90	-------
Pittsfield	6, 609	2, 121	95	-------	4, 082	1, 808	77	-------
Quincy	6, 093	3, 750	7	2	3, 992	3, 240	4	2
Revere	3, 164	2, 632	9	-------	2, 082	2, 336	8	-------

PER 1,000 WOMEN, BY COLOR, NATIVITY, AND MARITAL CONDITION, FOR DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1920—Continued

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OF AGE				CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE					
	White mothers		Colored mothers		All women			Married, widowed, or divorced women		
					White		Negro	White		Negro
	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored	Native	Foreign born		Native	Foreign born	
MOUNTAIN	309,752	73,535	1,540	11,987	631	848	264	775	938	298
Cities 100,000 and over	23,600	6,399	344	113	356	574	195	486	683	227
25,000 to 100,000	11,494	4,165	273	109	390	648	270	518	740	308
10,000 to 25,000	17,146	4,588	161	150	423	646	252	560	765	294
2,500 to 10,000	38,066	9,492	252	208	535	764	290	674	861	318
Rural	219,446	48,891	510	11,407	775	986	329	907	1,053	358
PACIFIC	331,096	116,776	3,112	22,495	388	582	271	504	677	317
Cities 100,000 and over	90,112	41,898	1,679	5,937	268	449	223	367	548	259
25,000 to 100,000	31,525	11,659	429	1,760	315	534	312	430	636	376
10,000 to 25,000	19,103	6,004	209	520	365	567	363	474	660	436
2,500 to 10,000	37,710	11,294	310	1,284	407	666	332	520	753	398
Rural	152,646	45,921	485	12,994	563	792	457	677	858	524
NEW ENGLAND										
MAINE	56,057	18,860	113	110	515	732	440	695	896	642
Bangor	1,404	531	26	1	309	557	------	501	731	------
Lewiston	1,376	1,618	6	------	357	592	------	601	870	------
Portland	3,705	2,396	23	2	337	664	------	526	842	------
25,000 to 100,000	6,485	4,545	55	3	335	623	387	534	837	585
10,000 to 25,000	4,421	2,725	5	------	399	689	------	586	897	------
2,500 to 10,000	6,212	2,968	4	46	453	763	------	630	915	------
Rural	38,939	8,622	49	61	603	811	------	762	924	------
NEW HAMPSHIRE	25,010	16,306	72	3	435	713	679	634	889	------
Manchester	3,092	5,094	10	------	347	658	------	627	885	------
Nashua	1,179	1,663	2	------	357	705	------	583	902	------
25,000 to 100,000	4,271	6,757	12	------	350	669	------	614	889	------
10,000 to 25,000	4,487	3,328	20	3	374	735	------	572	895	------
2,500 to 10,000	5,084	2,986	19	------	434	711	------	625	875	------
Rural	11,168	3,235	21	------	517	798	------	677	894	------
VERMONT	26,582	7,905	52	5	525	829	520	707	961	------
10,000 to 25,000	3,158	1,370	8	------	417	735	------	643	868	------
2,500 to 10,000	3,979	1,829	8	------	401	738	------	593	909	------
Rural	19,445	4,706	36	5	587	906	------	749	1,014	------
MASSACHUSETTS	172,007	209,277	4,308	169	359	700	399	621	886	536
Boston	27,261	42,312	1,212	61	304	631	276	585	835	365
Brockton	3,056	3,000	46	------	333	626	374	535	752	500
Brookline	1,596	898	6	4	257	218	31	500	634	92
Cambridge	4,248	5,884	535	6	318	644	402	627	853	546
Chelsea	1,177	3,868	40	3	356	791	519	672	927	656
Chicopee	1,578	3,625	------	------	485	991	------	765	1,148	------
Everett	2,074	2,213	110	------	427	750	462	681	864	582
Fall River	4,832	8,767	40	1	379	784	563	723	989	690
Fitchburg	1,819	2,680	1	------	390	724	250	691	884	500
Haverhill	2,493	2,523	23	------	330	686	288	510	836	411
Holyoke	2,412	3,787	14	2	324	650	359	665	875	438
Lawrence	2,584	7,930	12	------	301	716	286	589	866	375
Lowell	4,855	6,897	12	2	364	650	364	691	861	480
Lynn	4,207	4,779	96	3	326	610	604	521	763	711
Malden	2,062	2,575	55	------	341	646	500	626	811	714
Medford	2,582	1,456	60	------	419	608	652	651	727	1,017
New Bedford	3,683	8,547	747	------	342	601	809	571	773	940
Newton	2,213	1,665	47	------	323	489	253	594	873	522
Pittsfield	2,517	1,799	29	------	381	848	305	617	995	377
Quincy	2,530	2,821	2	5	415	752	286	634	871	500
Revere	1,311	2,037	7	------	414	774	778	630	872	875

TABLE I.—CHILDREN UNDER 5, WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, AND CHILDREN COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE							
	All women				Married, widowed, or divorced women			
	White		Colored		White		Colored	
	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored
NEW ENGLAND—con.								
MASSACHUSETTS—Con.								
Salem	5, 344	3, 083	28	7	2, 854	2, 478	25	2
Somerville	12, 365	6, 583	78	------	7, 861	5, 480	58	------
Springfield	19, 422	9, 061	705	5	12, 381	7, 270	545	5
Taunton	4, 452	2, 698	51	------	2, 446	2, 197	35	------
Waltham	4, 532	2, 362	15	------	2, 171	1, 726	4	------
Worcester	22, 958	14, 420	268	9	12, 948	11, 866	212	7
100,000 and over	182, 340	135, 691	7, 715	103	98, 862	104, 610	5, 936	86
25,000 to 100,000	130, 590	85, 524	1, 630	25	75, 840	67, 452	1, 102	13
10,000 to 25,000	77, 683	39, 314	546	13	46, 646	32, 398	357	10
2,500 to 10,000	63, 269	30, 679	594	27	38, 991	24, 951	407	19
Rural	24, 947	7, 851	304	54	16, 838	6, 730	238	38
RHODE ISLAND	73, 247	46, 000	2, 079	29	43, 275	36, 972	1, 582	20
Cranston	3, 832	1, 929	26	1	2, 571	1, 646	13	------
Newport	3, 827	1, 547	350	2	2, 478	1, 203	255	1
Pawtucket	8, 069	5, 475	65	1	4, 555	4, 294	44	1
Providence	30, 035	18, 801	1, 233	10	16, 763	15, 004	953	9
Woonsocket	4, 760	4, 165	11	------	2, 486	3, 151	10	------
100,000 and over	30, 035	18, 801	1, 233	10	16, 763	15, 004	953	9
25,000 to 100,000	20, 488	13, 116	452	4	12, 090	10, 294	322	2
10,000 to 25,000	10, 702	7, 850	180	2	6, 436	6, 472	144	2
2,500 to 10,000	10, 026	5, 769	159	12	6, 567	4, 790	125	6
Rural	1, 996	464	55	1	1, 419	412	38	1
CONNECTICUT	164, 303	102, 772	4, 783	48	102, 639	89, 748	3, 823	39
Bridgeport	16, 325	13, 283	543	2	10, 650	11, 852	469	2
Hartford	17, 739	11, 580	1, 016	5	10, 466	9, 583	826	3
Meriden	3, 975	1, 925	23	------	2, 313	1, 686	18	------
New Britain	5, 423	6, 203	55	------	3, 140	5, 614	50	------
New Haven	19, 635	12, 607	1, 088	8	11, 726	10, 738	868	7
New London	3, 528	1, 602	126	------	2, 360	1, 389	95	------
Norwalk	3, 672	1, 591	162	1	2, 428	1, 418	137	1
Stamford	3, 749	3, 162	250	------	2, 400	2, 816	203	------
Waterbury	10, 839	8, 017	225	4	6, 247	6, 996	173	4
100,000 and over	53, 699	37, 470	2, 647	15	32, 842	32, 173	2, 163	12
25,000 to 100,000	31, 186	22, 500	841	5	18, 888	19, 919	676	5
10,000 to 25,000	17, 674	11, 516	313	7	10, 286	10, 277	257	5
2,500 to 10,000	8, 597	4, 791	124	1	5, 216	4, 110	93	1
Rural	53, 147	26, 495	858	20	35, 407	23, 269	634	16
MIDDLE ATLANTIC								
NEW YORK	1, 346, 977	764, 897	59, 827	1, 459	872, 180	619, 254	43, 807	1, 135
Albany	21, 380	4, 058	301	2	12, 481	3, 285	227	2
Amsterdam	4, 096	2, 976	33	1	2, 530	2, 533	26	1
Auburn	5, 182	1, 869	78	------	3, 355	1, 676	64	------
Binghamton	11, 285	2, 854	156	3	7, 740	2, 498	120	3
Buffalo	77, 534	28, 886	1, 210	30	50, 533	24, 781	1, 020	23
Elmira	8, 486	922	100	------	5, 789	781	83	------
Jamestown	5, 490	2, 490	45	2	3, 648	2, 121	34	1
Kingston	4, 873	540	106	------	2, 840	473	70	------
Mount Vernon	6, 169	2, 725	448	------	3, 774	2, 197	326	------
New Rochelle	4, 695	2, 440	846	4	2, 980	1, 861	578	2
New York	627, 381	575, 449	48, 845	533	376, 024	456, 483	35, 582	417
Manhattan Boro	225, 748	276, 116	36, 487	445	123, 855	203, 650	26, 637	350
Bronx Boro	84, 127	80, 049	1, 215	12	51, 143	66, 467	834	11
Brooklyn Boro	232, 327	183, 514	9, 358	54	142, 470	155, 066	6, 813	41
Queens Boro	71, 307	28, 330	1, 402	21	49, 572	24, 922	1, 035	14
Richmond Boro	13, 872	7, 440	383	1	8, 984	6, 378	263	1
Newburgh	5, 104	1, 081	147	1	3, 258	975	111	1
Niagara Falls	5, 345	4, 655	123	3	3, 776	4, 058	108	2
Poughkeepsie	5, 688	1, 413	203	1	3, 714	1, 238	168	1
Rochester	46, 360	17, 703	469	12	29, 585	14, 958	351	4

PER 1,000 WOMEN, BY COLOR, NATIVITY, AND MARITAL CONDITION, FOR DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1920—Continued

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OF AGE				CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE					
	White mothers		Colored mothers		All women			Married, widowed, or divorced women		
	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored	White		Negro	White		Negro
					Native	Foreign born		Native	Foreign born	
NEW ENGLAND—con.										
MASSACHUSETTS—Con.										
Salem	1,952	2,402	16	8	365	779	571	684	969	640
Somerville	4,637	4,415	32	------	347	671	410	590	806	552
Springfield	6,426	6,270	177	7	331	692	251	519	862	325
Taunton	1,674	2,190	41	------	376	812	804	684	997	1,171
Waltham	1,303	1,437	1	------	288	608	67	600	833	250
Worcester	8,010	11,016	109	4	349	764	407	619	928	514
100,000 and over	59,315	89,693	2,832	81	325	661	367	599	857	477
25,000 to 100,000	45,777	58,100	638	25	351	679	391	604	861	579
10,000 to 25,000	29,806	30,607	214	9	384	779	392	639	945	599
2,500 to 10,000	25,601	24,383	402	14	405	795	677	657	977	988
Rural	11,508	6,494	222	40	461	827	730	683	965	933
RHODE ISLAND	26,613	34,725	997	21	363	755	480	615	939	630
Cranston	1,433	1,469	3	------	374	762	------	557	892	------
Newport	1,491	919	129	2	390	594	369	602	764	506
Pawtucket	3,017	3,427	35	1	374	626	------	662	798	------
Providence	9,050	13,859	532	8	301	737	431	540	924	558
Woonsocket	1,838	2,906	16	------	386	698	------	739	922	------
100,000 and over	9,050	13,859	532	8	301	737	431	540	924	558
25,000 to 100,000	7,779	8,721	183	3	380	665	404	643	847	568
10,000 to 25,000	4,520	6,569	133	3	422	837	739	702	1,015	924
2,500 to 10,000	4,394	5,179	116	5	438	898	730	669	1,081	928
Rural	870	397	33	2	436	856	------	613	964	------
CONNECTICUT	60,900	91,031	1,873	34	371	886	392	593	1,014	490
Bridgeport	5,717	11,117	175	1	350	837	322	537	938	373
Hartford	5,186	8,687	378	2	292	750	372	496	907	458
Meriden	1,416	1,742	14	------	356	905	------	612	1,033	------
New Britain	1,936	6,180	26	------	357	996	------	617	1,101	------
New Haven	6,406	11,095	430	9	326	880	395	546	1,033	495
New London	1,303	1,227	41	------	369	766	325	552	883	------
Norwalk	1,305	1,243	45	3	355	781	278	537	877	328
Stamford	1,211	2,903	82	------	323	918	328	505	1,031	404
Waterbury	3,441	6,918	67	4	317	863	298	551	989	387
100,000 and over	17,309	30,899	983	12	322	825	371	527	960	454
25,000 to 100,000	10,612	20,213	275	7	340	898	327	562	1,015	407
10,000 to 25,000	6,367	11,416	168	3	360	991	537	619	1,111	654
2,500 to 10,000	3,146	4,404	55	1	366	919	444	603	1,072	------
Rural	23,466	24,099	392	11	442	910	457	663	1,036	618
MIDDLE ATLANTIC										
NEW YORK	487,023	507,561	14,726	980	362	664	246	558	820	336
Albany	5,719	2,931	81	3	267	722	269	458	892	357
Amsterdam	1,173	2,360	16	2	286	793	------	464	932	------
Auburn	1,508	1,756	46	------	291	940	------	449	1,048	------
Binghamton	3,781	2,572	48	2	335	901	308	489	1,030	400
Buffalo	28,187	23,615	277	13	364	818	229	558	953	272
Elmira	3,121	676	41	------	368	733	410	539	866	------
Jamestown	1,798	1,564	17	------	328	628	------	493	737	------
Kingston	1,506	411	39	------	309	761	368	530	869	------
Mount Vernon	2,008	2,006	100	------	325	736	223	532	913	307
New Rochelle	1,635	1,558	176	1	348	639	208	549	837	304
New York	198,498	350,904	11,147	320	316	610	228	528	769	313
Manhattan Boro	55,156	147,126	7,548	259	244	533	207	445	722	283
Bronx Boro	28,248	48,189	408	11	336	602	336	552	725	489
Brooklyn Boro	80,568	130,455	2,595	33	347	711	277	566	841	381
Queens Boro	28,783	19,049	430	17	404	672	307	581	764	415
Richmond Boro	5,743	6,085	166	------	414	818	433	639	954	631
Newburgh	1,629	829	44	1	319	767	299	500	850	396
Niagara Falls	2,080	4,087	39	------	389	878	317	551	1,007	361
Poughkeepsie	1,956	1,250	67	------	344	885	330	527	1,010	399
Rochester	15,458	13,728	113	1	333	775	241	522	918	322

TABLE I.—CHILDREN UNDER 5, WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, AND CHILDREN
COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE							
	All women				Married, widowed, or divorced women			
	White		Colored		White		Colored	
	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored
MIDDLE ATLANTIC—con.								
NEW YORK—Continued.								
Rome	3,456	1,204	27	-------	2,195	1,121	20	------
Schenectady	13,371	5,402	106	1	9,521	4,867	92	1
Syracuse	28,577	7,725	297	15	19,380	6,721	239	13
Troy	13,837	2,497	155	-------	7,252	1,982	110	------
Utica	13,587	6,242	88	1	8,486	5,419	72	1
Watertown	5,088	1,426	22	2	3,597	1,189	17	2
Yonkers	13,473	7,393	521	3	8,209	6,296	396	2
100,000 and over	814,705	641,214	51,643	595	496,212	512,524	37,815	461
25,000 to 100,000	115,752	40,736	2,683	19	74,455	34,989	1,999	15
10,000 to 25,000	84,833	21,169	1,298	18	56,491	18,438	1,009	13
2,500 to 10,000	75,801	18,434	1,587	44	52,426	15,658	1,104	33
Rural	255,886	43,344	2,616	783	192,596	37,645	1,880	613
NEW JERSEY	404,931	198,708	28,883	91	276,261	175,224	22,689	72
Atlantic City	6,925	1,920	3,348	9	4,839	1,567	2,544	9
Bayonne	7,066	7,326	152	2	4,601	6,783	131	2
Camden	15,880	5,401	1,976	2	12,112	4,965	1,647	1
Clifton	2,495	2,895	12	1	1,775	2,585	6	1
East Orange	9,875	1,933	723	-------	6,592	1,357	484	------
Elizabeth	10,854	7,744	465	3	7,194	7,059	381	3
Hoboken	7,773	5,541	49	-------	4,748	4,934	44	------
Irvington	4,161	1,375	26	-------	3,084	1,276	19	------
Jersey City	39,792	19,771	1,940	2	25,138	17,755	1,627	2
Kearny	3,459	2,046	24	2	2,238	1,705	17	2
Montclair	4,072	1,639	1,174	2	2,584	1,092	757	1
New Brunswick	3,849	2,841	245	-------	2,458	2,479	199	------
Newark	50,314	31,852	4,545	13	32,126	28,083	3,800	10
Orange	4,113	1,869	978	-------	2,405	1,528	727	------
Passaic	4,554	8,977	152	-------	2,630	7,615	122	------
Paterson	16,639	11,622	424	4	9,957	9,867	317	2
Perth Amboy	3,319	4,351	118	2	2,238	4,060	108	2
Plainfield	3,835	1,633	670	2	2,567	1,342	507	1
Trenton	14,831	8,031	987	2	9,966	7,271	787	1
West Hoboken	4,830	3,643	4	1	3,056	3,186	4	1
West New York	4,147	2,516	25	-------	3,117	2,240	20	------
100,000 and over	137,456	76,677	9,872	23	89,299	67,941	8,178	16
25,000 to 100,000	85,327	58,249	8,165	24	56,126	50,808	6,070	22
10,000 to 25,000	35,256	15,789	2,699	11	23,808	13,743	2,072	8
2,500 to 10,000	57,251	20,266	3,274	18	40,541	17,726	2,464	15
Rural	89,641	27,727	4,873	15	66,487	25,006	3,905	11
PENNSYLVANIA	1,215,269	345,628	70,353	128	861,215	311,236	57,059	107
Allentown	12,669	2,813	41	1	9,239	2,519	35	1
Altoona	11,126	1,169	190	-------	7,929	1,085	169	------
Bethlehem	6,745	3,184	78	2	5,022	2,916	62	2
Chester	7,149	2,644	1,616	5	5,371	2,474	1,310	5
Easton	5,963	1,032	64	-------	4,255	914	50	------
Erie	14,679	4,030	169	2	10,238	3,729	142	1
Harrisburg	14,750	957	1,261	-------	10,846	838	1,032	------
Hazleton	4,615	1,359	1	-------	2,844	1,284	-------	------
Johnstown	9,277	3,022	221	-------	6,458	2,878	197	------
Lancaster	10,481	503	190	2	7,026	423	148	1
McKeesport	5,718	2,850	212	-------	3,969	2,682	185	------
New Castle	6,201	2,261	208	-------	4,708	2,094	191	------
Norristown	5,182	985	341	-------	3,400	813	244	------
Philadelphia	246,975	105,027	37,770	62	161,530	88,446	30,091	55
Pittsburgh	84,518	30,088	9,552	19	54,850	25,782	8,136	16
Reading	19,529	2,318	211	-------	14,138	2,074	169	------
Scranton	20,815	6,889	131	-------	12,640	6,181	106	------
Wilkes-Barre	11,198	3,449	101	-------	6,816	3,106	78	------
Williamsport	7,014	383	193	-------	4,784	282	138	------
York	9,254	229	328	-------	6,770	193	249	------
100,000 and over	371,837	144,322	47,664	81	243,158	122,483	38,502	71
25,000 to 100,000	142,021	30,870	5,214	12	99,675	28,230	4,230	10
10,000 to 25,000	120,953	40,842	5,079	9	84,559	38,631	4,294	8
2,500 to 10,000	172,537	42,849	3,682	8	123,734	40,412	3,007	4
Rural	407,921	86,745	8,714	18	310,089	81,480	7,026	14

PER 1,000 WOMEN, BY COLOR, NATIVITY, AND MARITAL CONDITION, FOR DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1920—Continued

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OF AGE				CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE					
	White mothers		Colored mothers		All women			Married, widowed, or divorced women		
	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored	White		Negro	White		Negro
					Native	Foreign born		Native	Foreign born	
MIDDLE ATLANTIC—con.										
NEW YORK—Continued.										
Rome	1, 307	1, 483	10	------	378	1, 232	------	595	1, 323	------
Schenectady	4, 205	4, 450	37	1	314	824	349	442	914	------
Syracuse	9, 689	6, 501	74	11	339	842	249	500	967	310
Troy	3, 759	1, 552	37	------	272	622	239	518	783	336
Utica	4, 070	5, 436	22	1	300	871	------	480	1, 003	------
Watertown	1, 840	872	4	------	362	612	------	512	733	------
Yonkers	4, 755	5, 621	145	3	353	760	278	579	893	366
100,000 and over	262, 306	403, 300	11, 837	351	322	629	229	529	787	313
25,000 to 100,000	37, 376	32, 862	743	8	323	807	277	502	939	372
10,000 to 25,000	31, 275	19, 385	429	14	369	916	331	554	1, 051	425
2,500 to 10,000	29, 698	15, 750	503	31	392	854	317	566	1, 006	456
Rural	126, 368	36, 264	1, 214	576	494	837	464	656	963	646
NEW JERSEY	162, 963	165, 518	10, 171	44	402	833	352	590	945	448
Atlantic City	2, 143	1, 010	591	7	309	526	177	443	645	232
Bayonne	3, 186	7, 947	59	1	451	1, 085	388	692	1, 172	450
Camden	7, 192	5, 016	750	1	453	929	380	594	1, 010	455
Clifton	1, 123	2, 179	7	------	450	753	------	633	843	------
East Orange	2, 943	883	180	------	298	457	249	446	651	372
Elizabeth	4, 361	7, 137	185	1	402	922	398	606	1, 011	486
Hoboken	2, 891	3, 990	16	------	372	720	------	609	809	------
Irvington	1, 590	857	6	------	382	623	------	516	672	------
Jersey City	15, 150	17, 547	677	1	381	888	349	603	988	416
Kearny	1, 388	1, 458	5	2	401	713	------	620	855	------
Montclair	1, 375	937	267	------	338	572	227	532	858	353
New Brunswick	1, 518	2, 304	96	1	394	811	392	618	929	482
Newark	16, 709	26, 377	1, 467	6	332	828	323	520	939	386
Orange	1, 662	1, 627	334	------	404	871	342	691	1, 065	459
Passaic	1, 469	7, 133	45	------	323	795	296	559	937	369
Paterson	5, 393	7, 335	127	------	324	631	300	542	743	401
Perth Amboy	1, 589	4, 606	67	2	479	1, 059	568	710	1, 134	620
Plainfield	1, 418	1, 209	206	------	370	740	307	552	901	406
Trenton	5, 393	7, 249	385	------	364	903	390	541	997	489
West Hoboken	1, 744	1, 966	------	------	361	540	------	571	617	------
West New York	1, 863	1, 602	3	------	449	637	------	598	715	------
100,000 and over	49, 837	63, 524	3, 406	8	363	829	345	558	935	416
25,000 to 100,000	32, 263	46, 845	2, 067	14	378	804	253	575	922	341
10,000 to 25,000	14, 120	13, 590	931	6	400	861	345	593	989	449
2,500 to 10,000	23, 737	16, 704	1, 138	10	415	824	348	586	942	462
Rural	43, 006	24, 855	2, 629	6	480	896	540	647	994	673
PENNSYLVANIA	622, 564	360, 369	22, 409	123	512	1, 043	319	723	1, 158	393
Allentown	5, 038	2, 774	14	------	398	986	------	545	1, 101	------
Altoona	4, 979	1, 293	96	------	448	1, 106	505	628	1, 192	568
Bethlehem	3, 373	3, 209	26	------	500	1, 008	------	672	1, 100	------
Chester	3, 406	2, 825	533	3	476	1, 068	330	634	1, 142	407
Easton	2, 248	936	20	------	377	907	------	528	1, 024	------
Erie	6, 145	4, 407	62	1	419	1, 094	367	600	1, 182	437
Harrisburg	5, 155	689	388	------	349	720	308	475	822	376
Hazleton	2, 325	1, 625	------	1	504	1, 196	------	818	1, 266	------
Johnstown	4, 943	3, 692	107	------	533	1, 222	484	765	1, 283	543
Lancaster	4, 365	399	99	------	416	793	521	621	943	669
McKeesport	2, 632	3, 061	70	------	460	1, 074	330	663	1, 141	378
New Castle	2, 853	2, 517	67	------	460	1, 113	322	606	1, 202	351
Norristown	1, 919	939	133	------	370	953	390	564	1, 155	545
Philadelphia	91, 423	77, 405	9, 769	72	370	737	259	566	875	325
Pittsburgh	33, 114	26, 148	2, 732	12	392	869	286	604	1, 014	336
Reading	7, 612	2, 429	82	------	390	1, 048	389	538	1, 171	485
Scranton	8, 434	6, 819	36	------	405	990	275	667	1, 103	340
Wilkes-Barre	4, 841	3, 533	28	------	432	1, 024	277	710	1, 137	------
Williamsport	2, 728	310	65	------	389	809	337	570	1, 099	471
York	4, 019	148	127	1	434	646	387	594	767	510
100,000 and over	140, 583	112, 801	12, 619	84	378	782	265	578	921	328
25,000 to 100,000	60, 969	32, 357	1, 835	6	429	1, 048	352	612	1, 146	434
10,000 to 25,000	58, 512	47, 389	2, 185	9	484	1, 160	430	692	1, 227	509
2,500 to 10,000	88, 931	51, 910	1, 494	9	515	1, 211	406	719	1, 285	497
Rural	273, 569	115, 912	4, 276	15	671	1, 336	491	882	1, 423	609

Table I.—Children Under 5, Women 20 to 44 Years of Age, and Children
Communities of Different Sizes, by

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE							
	All women				Married, widowed, or divorced women			
	White		Colored		White		Colored	
	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored
EAST NORTH CENTRAL								
Ohio	913, 006	152, 032	43, 082	85	690, 113	138, 380	36, 908	63
Akron	33, 051	8, 352	1, 250	2	26, 129	7, 815	1, 113	1
Canton	14, 621	2, 659	281	3	11, 371	2, 481	243	3
Cincinnati	74, 550	7, 349	8, 077	12	49, 055	6, 009	6, 777	9
Cleveland	98, 305	63, 071	9, 379	21	68, 947	57, 098	8, 245	14
Columbus	44, 377	3, 021	5, 436	7	31, 866	2, 560	4, 618	6
Dayton	28, 239	2, 735	2, 182	8	21, 432	2, 498	1, 923	4
East Cleveland	6, 024	919	55	--------	4, 362	721	28	-------
Hamilton	7, 105	407	272	1	5, 305	379	252	1
Lakewood	8, 097	2, 002	31	1	6, 021	1, 774	23	1
Lima	8, 156	359	245	--------	6, 406	313	210	-------
Lorain	3, 699	2, 904	116	--------	2, 970	2, 797	101	-------
Mansfield	4, 974	646	43	--------	3, 746	585	34	-------
Marion	5, 496	135	43	--------	4, 455	125	35	-------
Newark	5, 017	262	115	--------	3, 837	239	99	-------
Portsmouth	6, 601	85	271	--------	5, 031	74	240	-------
Springfield	10, 573	427	1, 509	1	7, 881	383	1, 331	1
Steubenville	4, 085	1, 259	266	2	3, 070	1, 175	230	2
Toledo	42, 396	7, 799	1, 472	5	31, 667	7, 026	1, 282	5
Warren	4, 436	1, 001	171	--------	3, 421	922	145	-------
Youngstown	17, 028	8, 108	1, 617	1	12, 686	7, 502	1, 456	1
Zanesville	5, 471	221	297	--------	4, 130	205	248	-------
100,000 and over	337, 946	100, 435	29, 413	56	241, 782	90, 508	25, 414	40
25,000 to 100,000	94, 355	13, 286	3, 715	8	72, 006	12, 173	3, 219	8
10,000 to 25,000	79, 337	11, 091	2, 270	2	59, 828	10, 064	1, 940	-------
2,500 to 10,000	87, 589	6, 848	2, 874	7	66, 016	6, 383	2, 338	4
Rural	313, 779	20, 372	4, 810	12	250, 481	19, 252	3, 997	11
Indiana	496, 609	28, 914	18, 593	31	39, 904	26, 520	15, 833	22
Anderson	5, 689	171	183	--------	4, 560	145	164	-------
East Chicago	2, 284	3, 595	311	--------	1, 847	3, 464	286	-------
Evansville	16, 725	311	1, 590	--------	12, 050	263	1, 272	-------
Fort Wayne	17, 936	1, 030	370	--------	12, 289	889	330	-------
Gary	5, 286	4, 156	1, 327	2	4, 423	3, 989	1, 214	2
Hammond	4, 968	2, 010	26	2	4, 017	1, 912	22	2
Indianapolis	59, 443	3, 223	8, 790	2	45, 537	2, 777	7, 484	1
Kokomo	5, 614	209	202	--------	4, 750	179	173	-------
Muncie	6, 852	131	473	--------	5, 669	116	429	-------
Richmond	4, 841	162	316	--------	3, 707	144	288	-------
South Bend	10, 715	3, 172	282	--------	7, 922	2, 909	253	-------
Terre Haute	12, 558	621	912	1	9, 610	540	766	1
100,000 and over	59, 443	3, 223	8, 790	2	45, 537	2, 777	7, 484	1
25,000 to 100,000	93, 468	15, 568	5, 992	5	70, 844	14, 550	5, 197	5
10,000 to 25,000	52, 716	4, 246	1, 421	16	41, 052	3, 895	1, 199	9
2,500 to 10,000	56, 630	1, 414	959	1	43, 920	1, 264	757	1
Rural	234, 352	4, 463	1, 431	7	189, 551	4, 034	1, 196	6
Illinois	965, 723	283, 159	47, 476	215	691, 097	246, 137	40, 612	173
Aurora	6, 141	1, 352	141	--------	4, 240	1, 210	121	-------
Bloomington	5, 487	445	176	8	3, 784	364	148	6
Chicago	360, 109	205, 786	31, 864	164	235, 055	177, 179	27, 254	137
Cicero	4, 832	4, 366	1	--------	3, 513	4, 047	1	-------
Danville	6, 233	303	547	5	4, 907	257	482	5
Decatur	8, 475	449	267	2	6, 475	399	226	1
East St. Louis	10, 560	1, 546	1, 775	2	8, 460	1, 442	1, 594	2
Elgin	5, 223	924	24	--------	3, 142	721	20	-------
Evanston	6, 447	1, 868	720	2	3, 922	1, 251	583	-------
Joliet	5, 644	1, 893	191	2	3, 568	1, 728	169	2
Moline	5, 102	1, 255	75	--------	3, 799	1, 112	72	-------
Oak Park	8, 200	1, 324	59	1	5, 425	877	39	-------
Peoria	15, 030	1, 351	540	--------	10, 680	1, 076	442	-------
Quincy	6, 895	209	261	--------	4, 673	157	203	-------
Rock Island	6, 461	970	162	1	4, 839	850	145	1
Rockford	10, 213	3, 739	122	--------	6, 783	3, 247	110	-------
Springfield	10, 956	1, 282	603	--------	7, 414	1, 109	481	-------
100,000 and over	360, 109	205, 786	31, 864	164	235, 055	177, 179	27, 254	137
25,000 to 100,000	121, 899	23, 276	5, 664	23	85, 624	19, 847	4, 836	17
10,000 to 25,000	66, 368	11, 198	3, 623	11	47, 753	10, 139	3, 109	8
2,500 to 10,000	94, 823	16, 709	2, 802	7	70, 890	14, 880	2, 398	5
Rural	322, 524	26, 190	3, 523	10	251, 775	24, 092	3, 015	6

PER 1,000 WOMEN, BY COLOR, NATIVITY, AND MARITAL CONDITION, FOR DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1920—Continued

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OF AGE				CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE					
	White mothers		Colored mothers		All women			Married, widowed, or divorced women		
	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored	White		Negro	White		Negro
					Native	Foreign born		Native	Foreign born	
EAST NORTH CENTRAL										
OHIO	440,223	131,638	14,227	48	482	866	330	638	951	385
Akron	13,499	7,073	306	1	408	847	245	517	905	275
Canton	6,343	2,478	83	------	434	932	295	558	999	342
Cincinnati	25,039	3,697	1,995	5	336	503	247	510	615	294
Cleveland	34,958	51,092	2,371	12	356	810	253	507	895	288
Columbus	15,584	2,087	1,638	6	351	691	301	489	815	355
Dayton	11,236	2,084	704	------	398	762	323	524	834	366
East Cleveland	2,022	347	1	------	336	378	------	464	481	------
Hamilton	3,231	352	88	1	455	865	324	609	929	349
Lakewood	2,777	1,467	7	------	343	733	------	461	827	------
Lima	3,726	310	106	2	457	864	433	582	990	505
Lorain	1,759	2,980	45	------	476	1,026	388	592	1,065	446
Mansfield	1,868	611	19	------	376	946	------	499	1,044	------
Marion	2,679	103	14	------	487	763	------	601	824	------
Newark	1,961	234	45	------	391	893	391	511	979	------
Portsmouth	3,349	63	80	------	507	------	295	666	------	333
Springfield	4,640	273	563	------	439	639	373	589	713	423
Steubenville	1,758	1,494	84	1	430	1,187	316	573	1,271	365
Toledo	15,770	6,620	346	3	372	849	235	498	942	270
Warren	1,983	989	49	------	447	988	287	580	1,073	338
Youngstown	7,511	8,519	443	4	441	1,051	274	592	1,136	304
Zanesville	2,365	208	158	------	432	941	532	573	1,015	637
100,000 and over	123,597	81,172	7,803	31	366	808	265	511	897	307
25,000 to 100,000	40,461	11,909	1,342	4	429	896	361	562	978	417
10,000 to 25,000	35,972	9,957	1,001	------	453	898	441	601	989	516
2,500 to 10,000	41,453	6,858	1,211	5	473	1,001	421	628	1,074	518
Rural	198,740	21,742	2,870	8	633	1,067	597	793	1,129	718
INDIANA	257,565	25,682	5,922	26	519	888	319	659	968	374
Anderson	2,459	151	81	------	432	883	443	539	1,041	494
East Chicago	1,122	4,343	120	------	491	1,208	386	607	1,254	420
Evansville	6,615	142	375	4	396	457	236	549	540	295
Fort Wayne	6,948	659	113	------	387	640	305	565	741	342
Gary	2,633	4,281	378	3	498	1,030	285	595	1,073	311
Hammond	2,374	2,032	5	3	478	1,011	------	591	1,063	------
Indianapolis	21,058	1,965	2,480	1	354	610	282	462	708	331
Kokomo	2,850	151	79	------	508	722	391	600	844	457
Muncie	2,940	73	162	------	429	557	342	519	629	378
Richmond	1,902	148	104	------	393	914	329	513	1,028	361
South Bend	4,727	2,922	104	------	441	921	369	597	1,004	411
Terre Haute	4,827	395	246	1	384	636	270	502	731	321
100,000 and over	21,058	1,965	2,480	1	354	610	282	462	708	331
25,000 to 100,000	39,397	15,297	1,767	11	421	983	295	556	1,051	340
10,000 to 25,000	24,612	3,736	524	6	467	880	369	600	959	437
2,500 to 10,000	26,830	906	389	------	474	641	406	611	717	514
Rural	145,668	3,778	762	8	622	847	532	768	937	637
ILLINOIS	434,899	207,717	12,333	124	450	734	260	629	844	304
Aurora	2,308	1,066	46	------	376	788	326	544	881	380
Bloomington	1,934	266	54	1	352	598	307	511	731	365
Chicago	119,445	146,498	6,404	108	332	712	201	508	827	235
Cicero	2,270	3,348	------	------	470	767	------	646	827	------
Danville	2,643	148	206	2	424	488	377	539	576	427
Decatur	3,417	312	98	------	403	695	367	528	782	434
East St. Louis	4,555	1,366	669	1	431	884	377	538	947	420
Elgin	1,386	339	10	------	265	367	------	441	470	------
Evanston	2,266	939	196	1	351	503	272	578	751	336
Joliet	2,037	1,818	42	1	361	960	220	571	1,052	249
Moline	1,861	676	17	------	365	539	------	490	608	------
Oak Park	2,766	483	6	------	337	365	------	510	551	------
Peoria	4,834	718	114	------	322	531	211	453	667	258
Quincy	2,482	69	66	------	360	330	253	531	439	325
Rock Island	2,328	522	64	------	360	538	395	481	614	441
Rockford	3,264	2,565	47	------	320	686	385	481	790	427
Springfield	3,856	873	196	------	352	681	325	520	787	407
100,000 and over	119,445	146,498	6,404	108	332	712	201	508	827	235
25,000 to 100,000	44,207	15,508	1,831	6	363	666	323	516	781	379
10,000 to 25,000	27,913	9,037	1,197	6	421	807	330	585	891	385
2,500 to 10,000	44,099	13,647	1,075	4	465	817	384	622	917	448
Rural	199,235	23,027	1,826	------	618	879	518	791	956	606

TABLE I.—CHILDREN UNDER 5, WOMEN 20 to 44 YEARS OF AGE, AND CHILDREN
COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE							
	All women				Married, widowed, or divorced women			
	White		Colored		White		Colored	
	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored
EAST NORTH CENTRAL—continued								
MICHIGAN	512, 002	152, 824	14, 757	879	395, 084	137, 290	13, 150	734
Battle Creek	7, 151	714	257	3	5, 496	608	218	1
Bay City	7, 529	1, 369	25	3	5, 372	1, 166	22	1
Detroit	132, 181	70, 882	10, 936	61	98, 332	62, 281	9, 790	48
Flint	14, 824	3, 060	371	7	12, 005	2, 822	343	5
Grand Rapids	22, 581	5, 957	254	6	15, 720	5, 170	216	4
Hamtramck	1, 335	6, 912	497	--------	1, 137	6, 675	462	------
Highland Park	7, 274	3, 042	103	6	5, 674	2, 681	85	5
Jackson	8, 526	1, 151	153	3	6, 760	1, 026	137	3
Kalamazoo	8, 448	1, 513	142	2	6, 256	1, 314	119	2
Lansing	10, 603	1, 270	145	--------	8, 619	1, 171	128	------
Muskegon	5, 995	1, 097	49	6	4, 476	968	45	5
Pontiac	5, 672	928	137	--------	4, 525	815	117	------
Port Huron	3, 562	1, 206	107	--------	2, 695	1, 038	99	------
Saginaw	10, 341	1, 890	64	8	7, 562	1, 669	55	8
100,000 and over	154, 762	76, 839	11, 190	67	114, 052	67, 451	10, 006	52
25,000 to 100,000	91, 260	24, 152	2, 050	38	70, 577	21, 953	1, 830	30
10,000 to 25,000	26, 553	7, 011	268	22	18, 620	6, 221	220	16
2,500 to 10,000	52, 863	10, 647	503	89	39, 649	9, 704	441	68
Rural	186, 564	34, 175	746	663	152, 186	31, 961	653	568
WISCONSIN	400, 167	74, 239	1, 165	1, 354	279, 133	66, 965	1, 000	1, 147
Green Bay	5, 898	472	4	19	3, 944	385	3	14
Kenosha	4, 819	2, 853	25	--------	3, 383	2, 621	18	------
La Crosse	5, 950	524	10	--------	3, 676	435	7	------
Madison	7, 995	932	53	1	4, 817	778	47	1
Milwaukee	76, 055	22, 232	587	13	49, 328	19, 771	520	9
Oshkosh	5, 746	817	9	5	3, 655	699	8	5
Racine	8, 393	3, 222	76	2	5, 694	2, 915	63	2
Sheboygan	4, 342	1, 541	--------	--------	2, 896	1, 427	--------	------
Superior	5, 393	2, 247	27	12	3, 667	1, 980	19	7
100,000 and over	76, 055	22, 232	587	13	49, 328	19, 771	520	9
25,000 to 100,000	48, 536	12, 608	204	39	31, 732	11, 240	165	29
10,000 to 25,000	34, 749	5, 094	209	22	23, 036	4, 503	188	18
2,500 to 10,000	47, 234	6, 143	39	23	31, 233	5, 417	26	17
Rural	193, 593	28, 162	126	1, 257	143, 804	26, 034	101	1, 074
WEST NORTH CENTRAL								
MINNESOTA	356, 105	81, 884	2, 157	1, 326	236, 219	70, 949	1, 876	1, 158
Duluth	14, 188	6, 568	127	10	9, 008	5, 427	119	7
Minneapolis	69, 346	19, 571	1, 070	26	43, 356	15, 819	909	21
St. Paul	41, 875	10, 051	812	18	25, 941	8, 277	727	14
100,000 and over	111, 221	29, 622	1, 882	44	69, 297	24, 096	1, 636	35
25,000 to 100,000	14, 188	6, 568	127	10	9, 008	5, 427	119	7
10,000 to 25,000	18, 605	3, 882	26	5	11, 259	3, 329	22	5
2,500 to 10,000	33, 685	8, 620	45	16	21, 744	7, 721	37	11
Rural	178, 406	33, 192	77	1, 251	124, 911	30, 376	62	1, 100
IOWA	408, 620	32, 589	4, 095	106	304, 637	28, 762	3, 574	90
Cedar Rapids	8, 824	1, 096	162	3	6, 336	947	147	1
Council Bluffs	6, 644	704	133	2	4, 878	619	122	2
Davenport	10, 961	1, 157	142	--------	7, 777	996	128	------
Des Moines	25, 600	2, 324	1, 369	2	18, 288	1, 909	1, 172	1
Dubuque	7, 694	518	12	--------	4, 671	419	11	------
Sioux City	12, 924	2, 276	299	12	8, 961	1, 929	267	12
Waterloo	7, 204	547	202	1	5, 439	494	193	1
100,000 and over	25, 600	2, 324	1, 369	2	18, 288	1, 909	1, 172	1
25,000 to 100,000	54, 261	6, 298	950	18	38, 062	5, 404	868	16
10,000 to 25,000	35, 536	2, 766	763	9	25, 268	2, 359	661	8
2,500 to 10,000	48, 391	2, 997	389	5	33, 630	2, 513	333	2
Rural	244, 842	18, 204	624	72	189, 389	16, 577	540	63

PER 1,000 WOMEN, BY COLOR, NATIVITY, AND MARITAL CONDITION, FOR DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1920—Continued

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OF AGE				CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE					
	White mothers		Colored mothers		All women			Married, widowed, or divorced women		
	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored	White		Negro	White		Negro
					Native	Foreign born		Native	Foreign born	
EAST NORTH CENTRAL—continued										
MICHIGAN	268,492	131,208	4,141	745	524	859	281	680	956	315
Battle Creek	2,465	371	68	2	345	520	265	449	610	312
Bay City	4,139	956	11	------	550	698	------	770	820	------
Detroit	53,919	55,684	2,482	32	408	786	227	548	894	254
Flint	7,024	2,423	95	6	474	792	256	585	859	277
Grand Rapids	9,011	4,589	95	1	399	770	374	573	888	440
Hamtramck	1,107	8,826	196	------	829	1,277	394	974	1,322	424
Highland Park	2,792	1,923	22	6	384	632	214	492	717	------
Jackson	3,485	997	50	1	409	866	327	516	972	365
Kalamazoo	3,281	1,127	87	2	388	745	613	524	858	731
Lansing	4,704	918	70	------	444	723	483	546	784	547
Muskegon	2,944	867	7	2	491	790	------	658	896	------
Pontiac	2,564	551	45	------	452	594	328	567	676	385
Port Huron	1,822	744	43	------	512	617	402	676	717	------
Saginaw	4,666	1,454	29	7	451	769	------	617	871	------
100,000 and over	62,930	60,273	2,577	33	407	784	230	552	894	258
25,000 to 100,000	40,993	21,157	723	26	449	876	352	581	964	395
10,000 to 25,000	12,728	6,035	109	17	479	861	407	684	970	495
2,500 to 10,000	27,175	8,896	243	63	514	836	483	685	917	551
Rural	124,666	34,847	489	606	668	1,020	655	819	1,090	749
WISCONSIN	219,361	63,958	368	1,355	548	862	316	786	955	368
Green Bay	2,832	332	2	5	480	703	------	718	862	------
Kenosha	2,217	2,519	1	------	460	883	------	655	961	------
La Crosse	2,399	289	5	------	403	552	------	653	664	------
Madison	2,748	632	17	6	344	678	------	570	812	------
Milwaukee	28,947	16,789	142	11	381	755	242	587	849	273
Oshkosh	2,251	662	6	7	392	810	------	616	947	------
Racine	3,531	2,570	12	------	421	798	------	620	882	------
Sheboygan	1,868	1,472	------	------	430	955	------	645	1,032	------
Superior	2,540	1,693	3	11	471	753	------	693	855	------
100,000 and over	28,947	16,789	142	11	381	755	242	587	849	273
25,000 to 100,000	20,386	10,169	46	29	420	807	225	642	905	278
10,000 to 25,000	15,922	3,868	89	12	458	759	426	691	859	473
2,500 to 10,000	22,586	4,922	19	12	478	801	------	723	909	------
Rural	131,520	28,210	72	1,291	679	1,002	571	915	1,084	713
WEST NORTH CENTRAL										
MINNESOTA	191,458	68,029	522	1,385	538	831	242	811	959	278
Duluth	5,886	4,193	32	2	415	638	252	653	773	269
Minneapolis	23,227	12,125	217	16	335	620	203	536	766	239
St. Paul	15,471	6,289	196	11	369	626	241	596	760	270
100,000 and over	38,698	18,414	413	27	347	622	220	558	764	252
25,000 to 100,000	5,886	4,193	32	2	415	638	252	653	773	269
10,000 to 25,000	8,169	3,005	4	3	439	774	------	726	903	------
2,500 to 10,000	16,181	7,618	30	18	480	884	------	744	987	------
Rural	122,524	34,799	43	1,335	687	1,048	------	981	1,146	------
IOWA	222,988	26,279	1,550	70	546	806	379	732	914	434
Cedar Rapids	3,206	647	57	------	363	590	352	506	683	388
Council Bluffs	2,873	491	35	1	432	697	263	589	793	287
Davenport	3,873	549	59	------	353	475	415	498	551	461
Des Moines	9,264	1,434	472	------	362	617	345	507	751	403
Dubuque	3,278	327	8	------	426	631	------	702	780	------
Sioux City	5,000	1,682	75	12	387	739	251	558	872	281
Waterloo	2,946	376	84	------	409	687	416	542	761	435
100,000 and over	9,264	1,434	472	------	362	617	345	507	751	403
25,000 to 100,000	21,176	4,072	318	13	390	647	335	556	754	366
10,000 to 25,000	14,808	1,937	274	5	417	700	359	586	821	415
2,500 to 10,000	20,741	1,982	169	3	429	661	434	617	789	508
Rural	156,999	16,854	317	49	641	926	508	829	1,017	587

TABLE I.—CHILDREN UNDER 5, WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, AND CHILDREN
COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE							
	All women				Married, widowed, or divorced women			
	White		Colored		White		Colored	
	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored
WEST NORTH CENTRAL—continued								
MISSOURI	580, 554	32, 822	42, 477	67	445, 549	28, 364	35, 146	55
Joplin	6, 161	126	210	6	5, 060	110	177	6
Kansas City	64, 672	5, 598	9, 000	14	48, 161	4, 806	7, 384	11
St. Joseph	14, 627	1, 134	1, 032	2	10, 776	995	881	2
St. Louis	138, 964	20, 345	19, 080	24	95, 480	17, 595	15, 993	21
Springfield	8, 189	129	362	2	6, 237	100	306	1
100,000 and over	203, 636	25, 943	28, 080	38	143, 641	22, 401	23, 377	32
25,000 to 100,000	28, 977	1, 389	1, 604	10	22, 073	1, 205	1, 364	9
10,000 to 25,000	19, 926	394	2, 162	4	15, 041	333	1, 698	4
2,500 to 10,000	41, 532	973	3, 363	4	31, 156	764	2, 689	3
Rural	286, 483	4, 123	7, 268	11	233, 638	3, 661	6, 018	7
NORTH DAKOTA	80, 228	26, 707	92	875	58, 703	24, 023	72	740
10,000 to 25,000	8, 836	1, 838	35	5	5, 537	1, 469	25	5
2,500 to 10,000	6, 857	1, 688	33	13	4, 510	1, 379	28	9
Rural	64, 535	23, 181	24	857	48, 656	21, 175	19	726
SOUTH DAKOTA	95, 722	13, 535	148	2, 400	72, 478	12, 032	119	2, 019
Sioux Falls	4, 951	561	24	5	3, 463	470	19	4
25,000 to 100,000	4, 951	561	24	5	3, 463	470	19	4
10,000 to 25,000	2, 775	496	7	--------	1, 891	405	7	-------
2,500 to 10,000	11, 421	1, 241	45	30	7, 923	964	39	25
Rural	76, 575	11, 237	72	2, 365	59, 201	10, 193	54	1, 990
NEBRASKA	211, 678	23, 240	3, 257	574	160, 112	20, 671	2, 869	511
Lincoln	10, 400	1, 551	203	3	7, 065	1, 319	171	3
Omaha	31, 914	7, 344	2, 688	15	22, 386	6, 371	2, 380	14
100,000 and over	31, 914	7, 344	2, 688	15	22, 386	6, 371	2, 380	14
25,000 to 100,000	10, 400	1, 551	203	3	7, 065	1, 319	171	3
10,000 to 25,000	6, 587	571	64	18	4, 879	488	57	16
2,500 to 10,000	22, 235	1, 754	128	16	16, 173	1, 523	114	16
Rural	140, 542	12, 020	174	522	109, 609	10, 970	147	462
KANSAS	293, 407	16, 329	11, 757	281	230, 949	14, 700	9, 977	212
Kansas City	14, 796	2, 454	3, 433	3	11, 825	2, 268	3, 059	3
Topeka	9, 269	707	944	10	6, 491	606	753	8
Wichita	14, 991	562	845	12	11, 389	458	738	7
100,000 and over	14, 796	2, 454	3, 433	3	11, 825	2, 268	3, 059	3
25,000 to 100,000	24, 260	1, 269	1, 789	22	17, 880	1, 064	1, 491	15
10,000 to 25,000	36, 357	1, 444	2, 800	57	27, 907	1, 214	2, 358	20
2,500 to 10,000	36, 145	1, 755	1, 330	21	27, 661	1, 547	1, 125	18
Rural	181, 849	9, 407	2, 405	178	145, 676	8, 607	1, 944	156
SOUTH ATLANTIC								
DELAWARE	31, 484	4, 716	5, 814	1	23, 939	4, 227	4, 507	1
Wilmington	16, 146	3, 972	2, 529	1	11, 635	3, 573	1, 843	1
100,000 and over	16, 146	3, 972	2, 529	1	11, 635	3, 573	1, 843	1
2,500 to 10,000	1, 400	110	466	--------	1, 003	105	365	-------
Rural	13, 938	634	2, 819	--------	11, 301	549	2, 299	-------
MARYLAND	208, 193	23, 002	49, 927	22	151, 461	19, 810	39, 578	15
Baltimore	111, 038	19, 698	28, 364	16	77, 322	16, 954	22, 004	10
Cumberland	5, 716	194	233	--------	4, 077	164	181	-------
Hagerstown	5, 396	80	341	--------	4, 107	66	257	-------
100,000 and over	111, 038	19, 698	28, 364	16	77, 322	16, 954	22, 004	10
25,000 to 100,000	11, 112	274	574	--------	8, 184	230	438	-------
10,000 to 25,000	3, 047	138	881	--------	2, 181	116	654	-------
2,500 to 10,000	8, 797	315	1, 914	2	6, 468	267	1, 496	1
Rural	74, 199	2, 577	18, 194	4	57, 306	2, 243	14, 986	4

PER 1,000 WOMEN, BY COLOR, NATIVITY, AND MARITAL CONDITION, FOR DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1920—Continued

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OF AGE				CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE					
	White mothers		Colored mothers		All women			Married, widowed, or divorced women		
	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored	White		Negro	White		Negro
					Native	Foreign born		Native	Foreign born	
WEST NORTH CENTRAL—continued										
MISSOURI	295, 936	19, 980	11, 956	37	510	609	281	664	704	340
Joplin	2, 439	66	36	3	396	524	171	482	600	203
Kansas City	18, 950	3, 579	1, 462	9	293	639	162	393	745	198
St. Joseph	5, 352	756	270	-------	366	667	262	497	760	306
St. Louis	42, 756	11, 785	4, 143	19	308	579	217	448	670	259
Springfield	3, 230	59	122	-------	394	457	337	518	590	399
100,000 and over	61, 706	15, 364	5, 605	28	303	592	200	430	686	240
25,000 to 100,000	11, 021	881	428	3	380	634	267	499	731	314
10,000 to 25,000	8, 355	192	674	-------	419	487	312	555	577	397
2,500 to 10,000	18, 528	499	1, 065	3	446	513	317	595	653	396
Rural	196, 326	3, 044	4, 184	3	685	738	576	840	831	695
NORTH DAKOTA	57, 950	32, 014	20	905	722	1, 199	------	987	1, 333	------
10,000 to 25,000	3, 765	1, 205	5	1	426	656	------	680	820	------
2,500 to 10,000	3, 333	1, 385	7	12	486	820	------	739	1, 004	------
Rural	50, 852	29, 424	8	892	788	1, 269	------	1, 045	1, 390	------
SOUTH DAKOTA	64, 173	13, 258	70	2, 330	670	980	473	885	1, 102	580
Sioux Falls	2, 066	354	---------	6	417	631	------	597	753	------
25,000 to 100,000	2, 066	354	---------	6	417	631	------	597	753	------
10,000 to 25,000	1, 159	403	2	1	418	813	------	613	995	------
2,500 to 10,000	5, 252	723	17	31	460	583	------	663	750	------
Rural	55, 696	11, 778	51	2, 292	727	1, 048	------	941	1, 155	------
NEBRASKA	122, 394	19, 437	878	531	578	836	270	764	940	306
Lincoln	3, 584	1, 404	60	3	345	905	296	507	1, 064	351
Omaha	10, 609	5, 237	652	20	332	713	243	474	822	274
100,000 and over	10, 609	5, 237	652	20	332	713	243	474	822	274
25,000 to 100,000	3, 584	1, 404	60	3	345	905	296	507	1, 064	351
10,000 to 25,000	2, 947	411	21	12	447	720	------	604	842	------
2,500 to 10,000	10, 113	1, 369	53	14	455	781	414	625	899	465
Rural	95, 141	11, 016	92	482	677	916	529	868	1, 004	626
KANSAS	168, 480	13, 869	4, 693	220	574	849	399	730	943	470
Kansas City	6, 777	2, 295	1, 120	2	458	935	326	573	1, 012	366
Topeka	3, 515	564	322	11	379	798	341	542	931	428
Wichita	5, 503	343	320	5	367	610	379	483	749	434
100,000 and over	6, 777	2, 295	1, 120	2	458	935	326	573	1, 012	366
25,000 to 100,000	9, 018	907	642	16	372	715	359	504	852	431
10,000 to 25,000	15, 394	873	1, 015	14	423	605	363	552	719	430
2,500 to 10,000	16, 642	1, 219	620	16	460	695	466	602	788	551
Rural	120, 649	8, 575	1, 296	172	663	912	539	828	996	667
SOUTH ATLANTIC										
DELAWARE	15, 450	4, 702	2, 776	1	491	997	477	645	1, 112	616
Wilmington	6, 851	4, 010	679	1	424	1, 010	268	589	1, 122	368
100,000 and over	6, 851	4, 010	679	1	424	1, 010	268	589	1, 122	368
2,500 to 10,000	645	126	191	-------	461	1, 145	410	643	1, 200	523
Rural	7, 954	566	1, 906	-------	571	893	676	704	1, 031	829
MARYLAND	105, 526	17, 318	24, 145	16	507	753	484	697	874	610
Baltimore	46, 228	14, 753	8, 366	9	416	749	295	598	870	380
Cumberland	2, 612	147	108	-------	457	758	464	641	896	597
Hagerstown	2, 789	73	121	-------	517	------	355	679	-------	471
100,000 and over	46, 228	14, 753	8, 366	9	416	749	295	598	870	380
25,000 to 100,000	5, 401	220	229	-------	486	802	399	660	956	522
10,000 to 25,000	1, 405	85	323	-------	461	616	367	644	733	494
2,500 to 10,000	4, 305	272	788	2	489	863	412	666	1, 019	527
Rural	48, 187	1, 988	14, 439	5	649	771	794	841	886	963

TABLE I.—CHILDREN UNDER 5, WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, AND CHILDREN COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE							
	All women				Married, widowed, or divorced women			
	White		Colored		White		Colored	
	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored
SOUTH ATLANTIC—con.								
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	79,903	7,077	29,588	50	43,677	5,264	22,021	37
Washington	79,903	7,077	29,588	50	43,677	5,264	22,021	37
VIRGINIA	277,858	6,396	127,552	126	212,638	5,705	101,668	111
Lynchburg	4,883	75	2,072	1	3,236	62	1,514	1
Newport News	3,737	439	3,513	1	3,097	397	2,875	1
Norfolk	14,521	1,345	11,383	6	11,306	1,211	9,191	6
Petersburg	3,689	111	3,415	--------	2,688	97	2,585	-------
Portsmouth	5,870	393	5,651	2	4,677	365	4,773	2
Richmond	25,750	1,085	14,291	5	17,742	904	10,731	4
Roanoke	8,794	190	2,399	--------	6,671	166	1,847	-------
100,000 and over	40,271	2,430	25,674	11	29,048	2,115	19,922	10
25,000 to 100,000	26,973	1,208	17,050	4	20,369	1,087	13,594	4
10,000 to 25,000	10,603	188	3,722	1	7,549	166	2,809	1
2,500 to 10,000	17,215	337	6,071	4	12,918	312	4,721	3
Rural	182,796	2,233	75,035	106	142,754	2,025	60,622	93
WEST VIRGINIA	218,407	12,195	17,649	10	176,486	11,569	15,225	9
Charleston	7,524	308	1,199	1	5,805	261	927	1
Clarksburg	5,181	438	290	--------	4,019	398	227	-------
Huntington	9,907	144	722	--------	7,816	118	567	-------
Wheeling	10,134	1,229	439	1	7,047	1,070	347	1
25,000 to 100,000	32,746	2,119	2,650	2	24,687	1,847	2,068	2
10,000 to 25,000	16,221	817	1,387	2	11,987	737	1,088	2
2,500 to 10,000	18,022	1,227	1,278	1	14,186	1,143	1,034	1
Rural	151,418	8,032	12,334	5	125,626	7,842	11,035	4
NORTH CAROLINA	301,462	1,496	133,397	1,727	234,907	1,203	105,798	1,455
Asheville	4,860	146	1,923	--------	3,522	96	1,450	-------
Charlotte	7,042	125	3,726	--------	5,123	109	2,956	-------
Wilmington	4,130	104	3,246	3	3,106	91	2,603	2
Winston-Salem	5,864	74	5,395	1	4,184	64	4,200	1
25,000 to 100,000	21,896	449	14,290	4	15,935	360	11,209	3
10,000 to 25,000	21,737	292	12,322	1	15,731	247	9,613	-------
2,500 to 10,000	25,941	198	10,042	5	19,607	175	7,762	4
Rural	231,888	557	96,743	1,717	183,634	421	77,214	1,448
SOUTH CAROLINA	141,807	1,162	154,443	54	111,037	1,010	127,474	48
Charleston	7,043	371	8,701	5	5,081	323	7,132	3
Columbia	5,342	138	4,032	--------	3,753	116	3,187	-------
25,000 to 100,000	12,385	509	12,733	5	8,834	439	10,319	3
10,000 to 25,000	9,517	146	5,972	--------	7,101	129	4,861	-------
2,500 to 10,000	15,011	190	10,540	7	10,919	166	8,292	5
Rural	104,894	317	125,198	42	84,183	276	104,002	40
GEORGIA	295,485	3,205	227,904	22	237,773	2,727	195,469	20
Atlanta	31,828	1,090	17,753	1	24,155	953	15,037	-------
Augusta	6,408	172	6,154	4	4,873	121	5,104	4
Columbus	4,714	54	2,386	--------	3,690	51	1,959	-------
Macon	6,558	161	6,157	--------	5,094	134	5,424	-------
Savannah	8,985	646	11,203	2	6,777	521	9,305	2
100,000 and over	31,828	1,090	17,753	1	24,155	953	15,037	-------
25,000 to 100,000	26,665	1,033	25,900	6	20,434	827	21,792	6
10,000 to 25,000	12,009	240	10,182	1	9,538	217	8,649	1
2,500 to 10,000	26,478	283	17,256	--------	20,401	260	14,332	-------
Rural	198,505	559	156,813	14	163,245	470	135,659	13
FLORIDA	105,229	9,311	68,875	109	87,069	8,014	60,182	87
Jacksonville	10,769	949	11,351	6	8,688	837	9,972	6
Miami	3,797	638	2,498	4	3,131	500	2,082	3
Pensacola	3,910	190	2,585	1	3,186	151	2,223	1
Tampa	5,205	2,820	3,254	2	4,172	2,500	2,753	2
25,000 to 100,000	23,681	4,597	19,688	13	19,177	3,988	17,030	12
10,000 to 25,000	3,977	757	1,414	2	3,030	654	1,202	1
2,500 to 10,000	13,945	1,577	10,109	2	10,849	1,389	8,580	1
Rural	63,626	2,380	37,664	92	54,013	1,983	33,370	73

PER 1,000 WOMEN, BY COLOR, NATIVITY, AND MARITAL CONDITION, FOR DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1920—Continued

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OF AGE				CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE					
	White mothers		Colored mothers		All women			Married, widowed, or divorced women		
					White		Negro	White		Negro
	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored	Native	Foreign born		Native	Foreign born	
SOUTH ATLANTIC—con.										
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	19,154	3,478	7,774	30	240	491	263	439	661	353
Washington	19,154	3,478	7,774	30	240	491	263	439	661	353
VIRGINIA	191,138	4,627	81,263	156	688	723	637	899	811	799
Lynchburg	2,031	55	742	------	416	------	358	628	------	490
Newport News	1,633	272	1,095	1	437	620	312	527	685	381
Norfolk	5,514	874	3,271	5	380	650	287	488	722	356
Petersburg	1,709	76	1,213	1	463	685	355	636	------	469
Portsmouth	2,952	277	2,168	------	503	705	384	631	759	454
Richmond	10,321	660	4,587	1	401	608	321	582	730	427
Roanoke	4,576	131	903	------	520	689	376	686	789	489
100,000 and over	15,835	1,534	7,858	6	393	631	306	545	725	394
25,000 to 100,000	12,901	811	6,121	2	478	671	359	633	746	450
10,000 to 25,000	4,879	111	1,335	3	460	590	359	646	669	475
2,500 to 10,000	9,647	301	2,616	3	560	893	431	747	965	554
Rural	147,876	1,870	63,333	142	809	837	844	1,036	923	1,045
WEST VIRGINIA	172,060	15,011	8,854	9	788	1,231	502	975	1,298	582
Charleston	3,467	201	304	2	461	653	254	597	770	328
Clarksburg	2,687	449	89	------	519	1,025	307	669	1,128	392
Huntington	5,069	67	211	------	512	465	292	649	568	372
Wheeling	4,071	1,049	114	------	402	854	260	578	980	329
25,000 to 100,000	15,294	1,766	718	2	467	833	271	619	956	347
10,000 to 25,000	7,684	747	502	1	474	914	362	641	1,014	461
2,500 to 10,000	10,570	1,311	522	3	587	1,068	408	745	1,147	505
Rural	138,512	11,187	7,112	3	915	1,393	577	1,103	1,427	644
NORTH CAROLINA	249,388	906	106,460	2,054	827	606	798	1,062	753	1,006
Asheville	2,161	50	679	2	445	342	353	614	------	468
Charlotte	3,618	77	1,358	------	514	616	364	706	706	459
Wilmington	2,083	46	1,299	3	504	442	400	671	------	499
Winston-Salem	3,073	42	1,695	2	524	------	314	734	------	404
25,000 to 100,000	10,935	215	5,031	7	499	478	352	686	597	449
10,000 to 25,000	11,208	169	4,977	1	516	579	404	712	684	518
2,500 to 10,000	16,166	157	4,957	5	623	793	494	825	897	639
Rural	211,079	365	91,495	2,041	910	655	946	1,149	867	1,185
SOUTH CAROLINA	110,194	798	117,526	63	777	687	761	992	790	922
Charleston	3,264	248	2,761	2	463	668	317	642	768	387
Columbia	2,106	75	1,071	------	394	543	266	561	647	336
25,000 to 100,000	5,370	323	3,832	2	434	634	301	608	735	371
10,000 to 25,000	4,957	102	2,165	------	521	699	363	698	791	445
2,500 to 10,000	8,390	138	4,133	12	559	726	392	768	831	498
Rural	91,477	235	107,396	49	872	741	858	1,087	851	1,033
GEORGIA	216,070	1,794	145,332	33	731	560	638	909	658	744
Atlanta	12,005	584	4,544	1	377	536	256	497	613	302
Augusta	2,642	86	1,527	8	412	500	248	542	711	299
Columbus	1,972	30	669	------	418	------	280	534	------	342
Macon	2,701	78	1,563	------	412	484	254	530	582	288
Savannah	4,036	369	2,584	5	449	571	231	596	708	278
100,000 and over	12,005	584	4,544	1	377	536	256	497	613	302
25,000 to 100,000	11,351	563	6,343	13	426	545	245	555	681	291
10,000 to 25,000	6,274	120	3,205	------	522	500	315	658	553	371
2,500 to 10,000	13,875	217	6,281	1	524	767	364	680	835	438
Rural	172,565	310	124,959	18	869	555	797	1,057	660	921
FLORIDA	65,991	5,919	33,264	89	627	636	483	758	739	553
Jacksonville	4,366	556	3,067	1	405	586	270	503	664	308
Miami	1,533	278	1,103	4	404	436	442	490	556	530
Pensacola	2,035	108	753	------	520	568	291	639	715	339
Tampa	2,218	2,108	788	1	426	748	242	532	843	286
25,000 to 100,000	10,152	3,050	5,711	6	429	664	290	529	765	335
10,000 to 25,000	1,651	491	719	2	415	649	508	545	751	598
2,500 to 10,000	6,221	1,061	3,157	3	446	673	312	573	764	368
Rural	47,967	1,317	23,677	78	754	553	629	888	664	710

TABLE I.—CHILDREN UNDER 5, WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, AND CHILDREN COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE							
	All women				Married, widowed, or divorced women			
	White		Colored		White		Colored	
	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL								
KENTUCKY	371, 472	4, 070	48, 564	13	298, 520	3, 423	39, 530	10
Covington	11, 450	302	770	--------	7, 908	241	631	------
Lexington	6, 302	124	3, 110	1	4, 460	100	2, 455	------
Louisville	41, 421	1, 634	10, 968	4	28, 679	1, 338	8, 685	3
Newport	5, 921	297	224	--------	4, 152	244	199	------
100,000 and over	41, 421	1, 634	10, 968	4	28, 679	1, 338	8, 685	3
25,000 to 100,000	23, 673	723	4, 104	1	16, 520	585	3, 285	------
10,000 to 25,000	11, 938	103	2, 904	1	9, 073	86	2, 330	1
2,500 to 10,000	32, 379	467	8, 052	--------	24, 633	408	6, 331	------
Rural	262, 061	1, 143	22, 536	7	219, 615	1, 006	18, 899	6
TENNESSEE	330, 249	2, 897	92, 104	16	265, 156	2, 530	77, 011	11
Chattanooga	8, 894	263	5, 054	--------	6, 586	228	4, 329	------
Knoxville	14, 340	137	2, 828	1	11, 035	113	2, 319	------
Memphis	22, 580	1, 240	17, 735	4	17, 147	1, 076	14, 962	3
Nashville	17, 999	430	9, 267	1	13, 071	359	7, 525	------
100,000 and over	40, 579	1, 670	27, 002	5	30, 218	1, 435	22, 487	3
25,000 to 100,000	23, 234	400	7, 882	1	17, 621	341	6, 648	------
10,000 to 25,000	6, 405	46	2, 147	1	5, 008	43	1, 713	1
2,500 to 10,000	23, 900	175	7, 665	1	18, 602	163	6, 137	1
Rural	236, 131	606	47, 408	8	193, 707	548	40, 026	6
ALABAMA	244, 983	3, 386	170, 405	63	200, 920	3, 012	143, 831	53
Birmingham	22, 842	1, 369	18, 422	--------	18, 117	1, 232	16, 228	------
Mobile	7, 601	346	6, 386	2	5, 696	261	5, 417	------
Montgomery	5, 211	135	5, 418	--------	3, 897	118	4, 458	------
100,000 and over	22, 842	1, 369	18, 422	--------	18, 117	1, 232	16, 228	------
25,000 to 100,000	12, 812	481	11, 804	2	9, 593	379	9, 875	------
10,000 to 25,000	12, 096	238	9, 546	--------	9, 531	209	8, 199	------
2,500 to 10,000	16, 410	228	9, 721	--------	13, 263	202	8, 138	------
Rural	180, 823	1, 070	120, 912	61	150, 416	990	101, 391	53
MISSISSIPPI	145, 230	1, 436	174, 684	195	116, 360	1, 282	150, 660	162
10,000 to 25,000	16, 337	479	15, 348	3	12, 013	412	12, 494	2
2,500 to 10,000	12, 650	309	9, 844	2	9, 713	273	7, 982	2
Rural	116, 243	648	149, 492	190	94, 634	597	130, 184	158
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL								
ARKANSAS	210, 378	2, 137	92, 880	29	180, 912	1, 794	82, 625	26
Fort Smith	5, 235	154	843	2	4, 104	121	697	1
Little Rock	10, 971	321	4, 863	1	8, 480	265	4, 096	1
25,000 to 100,000	16, 206	475	5, 706	3	12, 584	386	4, 793	2
10,000 to 25,000	7, 658	229	4, 387	2	6, 354	182	3, 839	2
2,500 to 10,000	20, 968	278	8, 590	1	17, 169	209	7, 473	1
Rural	165, 546	1, 155	74, 197	23	144, 805	1, 017	66, 520	21
LOUISIANA	190, 490	8, 010	138, 861	174	148, 284	6, 807	116, 747	144
New Orleans	56, 285	4, 218	26, 595	21	39, 034	3, 390	21, 197	18
Shreveport	5, 848	293	4, 873	1	4, 628	240	4, 165	1
100,000 and over	56, 285	4, 218	26, 595	21	39, 034	3, 390	21, 197	18
25,000 to 100,000	5, 848	293	4, 873	1	4, 628	240	4, 165	1
10,000 to 25,000	7, 898	456	6, 707	1	6, 019	386	5, 529	1
2,500 to 10,000	16, 180	672	9, 965	12	12, 243	593	8, 291	9
Rural	104, 279	2, 371	90, 721	139	86, 360	2, 198	77, 565	115
OKLAHOMA	308, 245	6, 576	28, 516	8, 709	266, 396	5, 999	25, 048	7, 530
Muskogee	5, 071	98	1, 743	69	4, 120	84	1, 501	60
Oklahoma City	18, 903	649	2, 210	14	14, 792	558	1, 919	11
Tulsa	14, 861	478	2, 387	44	11, 686	389	1, 986	41
25,000 to 100,000	38, 835	1, 225	6, 340	127	30, 598	1, 031	5, 406	112
10,000 to 25,000	22, 341	469	3, 119	160	18, 346	413	2, 683	126
2,500 to 10,000	39, 971	923	2, 223	592	33, 699	842	1, 927	489
Rural	207, 098	3, 959	16, 834	7, 830	183, 753	3, 713	15, 032	6, 803

per 1,000 Women, by Color, Nativity, and Marital Condition, for Divisions and States: 1920—Continued

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OF AGE				CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE					
	White mothers		Colored mothers		All women			Married, widowed, or divorced women		
	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored	White		Negro	White		Negro
					Native	Foreign born		Native	Foreign born	
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL										
KENTUCKY	268, 385	2, 758	20, 468	14	722	678	421	899	806	518
Covington	4, 554	155	174	-------	398	513	226	576	643	276
Lexington	2, 059	52	804	-------	327	419	259	462	520	327
Louisville	14, 834	884	2, 353	-------	358	541	215	517	661	271
Newport	2, 305	162	65	-------	389	545	290	555	664	327
100,000 and over	14, 834	884	2, 353	-------	358	541	215	517	661	271
25,000 to 100,000	8. 918	369	1, 043	-------	377	511	254	540	631	318
10,000 to 25,000	5, 307	54	781	6	445	524	269	585	-------	335
2,500 to 10,000	15, 516	341	2, 601	-------	479	730	323	630	836	411
Rural	223, 810	1. 110	13, 690	8	854	971	607	1, 019	1, 103	724
TENNESSEE	233, 301	1, 778	45, 653	7	706	614	496	880	703	593
Chattanooga	3, 097	137	1, 253	-------	348	521	248	470	601	289
Knoxville	6, 912	73	801	-------	482	533	283	626	646	345
Memphis	7. 653	774	3, 630	3	339	624	205	446	719	243
Nashville	7, 007	198	2, 424	1	389	460	262	536	552	322
100,000 and over	14, 660	972	6, 054	4	361	582	224	485	677	269
25,000 to 100,000	10, 009	210	2, 054	-------	430	525	261	568	616	309
10,000 to 25,000	3, 192	22	716	-------	498	-------	333	637	-------	418
2,500 to 10,000	12, 819	88	2, 726	-------	536	503	356	689	540	444
Rural	192, 621	486	34, 103	3	816	802	719	994	887	852
ALABAMA	192. 679	2, 611	104, 155	77	786	771	611	959	867	724
Birmingham	9, 836	1, 065	5, 617	2	431	778	305	543	864	346
Mobile	3, 246	179	1, 796	1	427	517	281	570	686	332
Montgomery	2, 082	88	1, 433	-------	400	652	264	534	746	321
100,000 and over	9, 836	1, 065	5, 617	2	431	778	305	543	864	346
25,000 to 100,000	5, 328	267	3, 229	1	416	555	274	555	705	327
10,000 to 25,000	6, 281	152	3, 370	-------	519	639	353	659	727	411
2,500 to 10,000	9, 523	180	3, 836	1	580	789	395	718	891	471
Rural	161, 711	947	88, 103	73	894	885	729	1, 075	957	869
MISSISSIPPI	107, 467	1, 222	107, 394	165	740	851	615	924	953	713
10,000 to 25,000	6, 856	314	4, 226	3	420	656	275	571	762	338
2,500 to 10,000	6. 145	237	3, 124	6	486	767	317	633	868	391
Rural	94, 466	671	100, 044	156	813	1, 035	669	998	1, 124	768
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL										
ARKANSAS	167, 975	1, 545	51, 274	17	798	723	552	928	861	621
Fort Smith	2, 420	72	241	1	462	468	286	590	595	346
Little Rock	3, 922	165	1, 186	1	357	514	244	463	623	290
25,000 to 100,000	6, 342	237	1, 427	2	391	499	250	504	614	298
10,000 to 25,000	3, 629	109	1, 099	-------	474	476	251	571	599	286
2,500 to 10,000	10, 940	160	2, 676	3	522	576	312	637	766	358
Rural	147, 064	1, 039	46, 072	12	888	900	621	1, 016	1, 022	693
LOUISIANA	125, 456	6, 289	77, 296	172	659	785	557	846	924	662
New Orleans	22, 268	2. 296	7, 798	21	396	544	293	570	677	368
Shreveport	2, 025	198	1, 210	3	346	676	248	438	825	291
100,000 and over	22, 268	2, 296	7, 798	21	396	544	293	570	677	368
25,000 to 100,000	2, 025	198	1, 210	3	346	676	248	438	825	291
10,000 to 25,000	3, 536	338	2, 006	-------	448	741	299	587	876	363
2,500 to 10,000	8, 627	632	3, 868	15	533	940	388	705	1, 066	467
Rural	89, 000	2, 825	62, 414	133	853	1, 191	688	1, 031	1, 285	805
OKLAHOMA	222, 488	5, 310	16, 214	8, 566	722	807	569	835	885	647
Muskogee	2, 058	52	608	42	406	-------	349	500	-------	405
Oklahoma City	6, 524	374	561	9	345	576	254	441	670	292
Tulsa	5, 383	227	730	44	362	475	306	461	584	368
25,000 to 100,000	13. 965	653	1, 899	95	360	533	299	456	633	351
10,000 to 25,000	10, 250	292	1, 121	86	459	623	359	559	707	418
2,500 to 10,000	21, 536	647	810	462	539	701	364	639	768	420
Rural	176, 737	3, 718	12, 384	7, 923	853	939	736	962	1, 001	824

Table I.—Children Under 5 Women 20 to 44 Years of Age, and Children Communities of Different Sizes, by

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE							
	All women				Married, widowed, or divorced women			
	White		Colored		White		Colored	
	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL—continued								
TEXAS	636, 069	72, 834	148, 771	420	519, 402	61, 539	128, 177	376
Austin	5, 648	474	1, 736	2	3, 744	396	1, 373	1
Beaumont	5, 415	420	3, 482	2	4, 489	362	3, 077	2
Dallas	31, 015	1, 791	6, 842	9	23, 613	1, 526	6, 113	6
El Paso	8, 578	8, 760	375	61	6, 764	6, 788	343	54
Fort Worth	18, 840	1, 409	4, 467	6	15, 131	1, 224	3, 804	6
Galveston	5, 688	1, 232	2, 750	2	4, 250	1, 074	2, 327	2
Houston	21, 321	2, 639	9, 589	8	16, 845	2, 323	8, 374	8
San Antonio	23, 635	8, 116	3, 992	15	17, 775	6, 481	3, 418	13
Waco	6, 424	357	1, 994	--------	5, 004	310	1, 717	-------
Wichita Falls	6, 957	241	633	1	5, 874	215	565	1
100,000 and over	94, 811	13, 955	24, 890	38	73, 364	11, 554	21, 709	33
25,000 to 100,000	38, 710	11, 484	10, 970	68	30, 125	9, 145	9, 402	60
10,000 to 25,000	42, 031	6, 892	9, 271	6	33, 730	5, 288	7, 881	4
2,500 to 10,000	63, 311	5, 089	12, 800	7	50, 588	4, 251	10, 757	7
Rural	397, 206	35, 414	90, 840	301	331, 595	31, 301	78, 428	272
MOUNTAIN								
MONTANA	79, 910	18, 687	346	1, 676	64, 993	17, 035	302	1, 536
Butte	6, 121	2, 515	47	13	4, 522	2, 204	42	13
25,000 to 100,000	6, 121	2, 515	47	13	4, 522	2, 204	42	13
10,000 to 25,000	13, 332	2, 946	157	28	9, 746	2, 491	136	24
2,500 to 10,000	9, 603	1, 723	75	33	7, 456	1, 537	64	32
Rural	50, 854	11, 503	67	1, 602	43, 269	10, 803	60	1, 467
IDAHO	66, 377	6, 255	168	744	56, 046	5, 732	155	688
10,000 to 25,000	6, 765	736	100	39	5, 254	635	90	39
2,500 to 10,000	14, 445	1, 273	38	48	11, 516	1, 126	38	46
Rural	45, 167	4, 246	30	657	39, 276	3, 971	27	603
WYOMING	30, 469	4, 537	304	383	25, 860	4, 260	261	365
10,000 to 25,000	4, 788	665	151	15	3, 952	588	127	15
2,500 to 10,000	5, 291	951	64	34	4, 317	888	60	30
Rural	20, 390	2, 921	89	334	17, 591	2, 784	74	320
COLORADO	149, 840	21, 985	2, 688	662	118, 543	19, 818	2, 313	637
Colorado Springs	6, 052	493	259	3	4, 065	375	206	3
Denver	46, 317	7, 228	1, 571	78	33, 448	6, 067	1, 340	72
Pueblo	6, 700	1, 578	330	16	5, 205	1, 454	300	16
100,000 and over	46, 317	7, 228	1, 571	78	33, 448	6, 067	1, 340	72
25,000 to 100,000	12, 752	2, 071	589	19	9, 270	1, 829	506	19
10,000 to 25,000	6, 041	589	55	2	4, 373	514	44	2
2,500 to 10,000	15, 822	1, 671	119	21	12, 545	1, 531	110	19
Rural	68, 908	10, 426	354	542	58, 907	9, 877	313	525
NEW MEXICO	50, 783	6, 079	651	2, 913	42, 040	5, 495	603	2, 420
10,000 to 25,000	2, 957	324	54	14	2, 176	270	45	6
2,500 to 10,000	8, 846	901	154	37	6, 850	773	134	22
Rural	38, 980	4, 854	443	2, 862	33, 014	4, 452	424	2, 392
ARIZONA	37, 052	17, 217	1, 242	5, 009	31, 079	15, 368	1, 142	4, 496
Phoenix	5, 248	912	309	47	4, 133	788	278	39
25,000 to 100,000	5, 248	912	309	47	4, 133	788	278	39
10,000 to 25,000	2, 922	1, 273	100	75	2, 252	1, 024	88	54
2,500 to 10,000	8, 857	4, 668	413	67	7, 325	4, 023	384	64
Rural	20, 025	10, 364	420	4, 820	17, 369	9, 533	392	4, 339

PER 1,000 WOMEN, BY COLOR, NATIVITY, AND MARITAL CONDITION, FOR DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1920—Continued

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OF AGE				CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE					
	White mothers		Colored mothers		All women			Married, widowed, or divorced women		
	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored	White		Negro	White		Negro
					Native	Foreign born		Native	Foreign born	
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL—continued										
TEXAS	400,983	54,732	77,798	394	630	751	523	772	889	607
Austin	1,792	271	390	1	317	572	225	479	684	284
Beaumont	2,457	327	1,085	3	454	779	312	547	903	353
Dallas	10,278	1,062	1,458	2	331	593	213	435	696	239
El Paso	2,933	5,292	80	38	342	604	213	434	780	233
Fort Worth	6,621	908	1,009	6	351	644	226	438	742	265
Galveston	2,196	792	573	1	386	643	208	517	737	246
Houston	7,374	1,616	2,067	5	346	612	216	438	696	247
San Antonio	9,188	4,631	965	21	389	571	242	517	715	282
Waco	2,573	228	560	------	401	639	281	514	735	326
Wichita Falls	3,123	134	108	1	449	556	171	532	623	191
100,000 and over	33,461	8,217	5,499	34	353	589	221	456	711	253
25,000 to 100,000	15,074	7,044	2,796	44	389	613	255	500	770	297
10,000 to 25,000	19,835	3,927	2,711	3	472	570	292	588	743	344
2,500 to 10,000	30,840	3,270	4,166	7	487	643	325	610	769	387
Rural	301,773	32,274	62,626	306	760	911	689	910	1,031	799
MOUNTAIN										
MONTANA	49,522	15,978	109	1,763	620	855	315	762	938	361
Butte	2,138	1,350	10	17	349	537	------	473	613	------
25,000 to 100,000	2,138	1,350	10	17	349	537	------	473	613	------
10,000 to 25,000	5,539	1,908	50	22	415	648	318	568	766	368
2,500 to 10,000	4,571	1,227	25	38	476	712	------	613	798	------
Rural	37,274	11,493	24	1,686	733	999	------	861	1,064	------
IDAHO	48,389	5,443	55	649	729	870	327	863	950	355
10,000 to 25,000	2,998	505	26	19	443	686	260	571	795	------
2,500 to 10,000	8,174	858	14	40	566	674	------	710	762	------
Rural	37,217	4,080	15	590	824	961	------	948	1,027	------
WYOMING	18,059	4,040	59	366	593	890	194	698	948	226
10,000 to 25,000	1,870	478	31	15	391	719	205	473	813	244
2,500 to 10,000	2,521	699	19	20	476	735	------	584	787	------
Rural	13,668	2,863	9	331	670	980	------	777	1,028	------
COLORADO	77,369	18,270	693	726	516	831	258	653	922	300
Colorado Springs	1,798	179	73	3	297	363	282	442	477	354
Denver	13,607	3,689	305	50	294	510	194	407	608	228
Pueblo	2,604	1,351	102	15	389	856	309	500	929	340
100,000 and over	13,607	3,689	305	50	294	510	194	407	608	228
25,000 to 100,000	4,402	1,530	175	18	345	739	297	475	836	345
10,000 to 25,000	2,539	412	16	2	420	699	------	581	802	------
2,500 to 10,000	7,570	1,338	41	24	478	801	345	603	874	373
Rural	49,251	11,301	156	632	715	1,084	441	836	1,144	498
NEW MEXICO	38,452	5,321	181	2,445	757	875	278	915	968	300
10,000 to 25,000	1,295	171	16	6	438	528	------	595	633	------
2,500 to 10,000	4,552	631	43	18	515	700	279	665	816	321
Rural	32,605	4,519	122	2,421	836	931	275	988	1,015	288
ARIZONA	21,474	14,290	333	4,710	580	830	268	691	930	292
Phoenix	1,882	546	72	27	359	599	233	455	693	259
25,000 to 10,000	1,882	546	72	27	359	599	233	455	693	259
10,000 to 25,000	1,184	838	21	66	405	658	210	526	818	------
2,500 to 100,000	4,186	3,578	107	52	473	766	259	571	889	279
Rural	14,222	9,328	133	4,565	710	900	317	819	978	339

TABLE I.—CHILDREN UNDER 5, WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, AND CHILDREN COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE							
	All women				Married, widowed, or divorced women			
	White		Colored		White		Colored	
	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored
MOUNTAIN—continued								
UTAH	65, 849	9, 750	361	845	52, 818	8, 671	327	715
Ogden	5, 379	934	68	63	4, 271	807	60	61
Salt Lake City	20, 054	3, 928	196	90	15, 135	3, 296	175	83
100,000 and over	20, 054	3, 928	196	90	15, 135	3, 296	175	83
25,000 to 100,000	5, 379	934	68	63	4, 271	807	60	61
10,000 to 25,000	1, 590	159	2		1, 192	123	2	
2,500 to 10,000	7, 786	1, 121	3	7	6, 102	1, 038	2	7
Rural	31, 040	3, 608	92	685	26, 118	3, 407	88	564
NEVADA	10, 232	2, 207	75	859	8, 528	2, 059	63	748
10,000 to 25,000	2, 152	409	19	39	1, 665	355	15	32
2,500 to 10,000	473	111	1	10	407	106		10
Rural	7, 607	1, 687	55	810	6, 456	1, 598	48	706
PACIFIC								
WASHINGTON	203, 159	47, 286	1, 487	4, 856	161, 052	41, 456	1, 320	4, 560
Bellingham	3, 983	943	9	18	2, 960	820	9	18
Everett	4, 347	1, 092	25	13	3, 409	970	21	13
Seattle	52, 544	16. 262	727	1, 869	39, 356	13, 366	647	1, 780
Spokane	19, 206	3, 348	161	44	14, 142	2, 791	143	39
Tacoma	14, 962	4, 036	197	275	11, 413	3, 512	173	267
100,000 and over	71, 750	19, 610	888	1, 913	53, 498	16, 157	790	1, 819
25,000 to 100,000	23, 292	6, 071	231	306	17, 782	5, 302	203	298
10,000 to 25,000	11, 639	2, 391	75	65	9, 182	2, 128	67	63
2,500 to 10,000	17, 512	2, 868	129	122	14, 043	2, 585	111	117
Rural	78, 966	16, 346	164	2, 450	66, 547	15, 284	149	2, 263
OREGON	128, 221	17, 972	486	1, 546	102, 213	15, 561	429	1, 389
Portland	47, 379	9, 628	389	482	35, 564	7, 980	350	448
100,000 and over	47, 379	9, 628	389	482	35, 564	7, 980	350	448
10,000 to 25,000	7, 122	1, 346	16	56	5, 053	1, 147	8	49
2,500 to 10,000	16, 496	1. 182	45	68	13, 081	1, 045	38	63
Rural	57. 224	5, 816	36	940	48, 515	5, 389	33	829
CALIFORNIA	521, 298	135, 421	9, 495	19, 272	394, 100	115, 391	8, 061	18, 137
Alameda	4, 845	1, 230	51	148	3, 573	1, 078	39	146
Berkeley	10, 215	2, 135	148	263	6, 556	1, 687	111	235
Fresno	7, 443	1, 971	115	279	5, 723	1, 757	97	263
Long Beach	9, 869	1, 232	40	85	7, 388	1, 000	30	82
Los Angeles	99, 946	25, 492	4, 292	2, 691	73, 318	20, 678	3, 676	2, 557
Oakland	35, 387	9, 178	1, 326	873	26, 721	7, 989	1, 163	803
Pasadena	7, 780	1, 667	260	78	4, 969	1, 001	203	73
Sacramento	11, 437	2, 119	156	523	8, 795	1, 867	134	487
San Diego	12, 253	2, 654	240	162	9, 098	2, 199	209	151
San Francisco	81, 931	29, 391	629	1, 902	56, 440	23, 623	506	1, 705
San Jose	6, 267	1, 528	36	76	4, 294	1, 333	32	72
Stockton	6, 653	1, 239	98	242	5, 183	1, 116	84	229
100,000 and over	217, 264	64, 061	6, 247	5, 466	156, 479	52, 290	5, 345	5, 065
25,000 to 100,000	76, 762	15, 775	1, 144	1, 856	55, 579	13, 038	939	1, 738
10,000 to 25,000	33, 629	6, 854	485	500	26, 060	5, 815	404	436
2,500 to 10,000	58, 644	12, 919	758	1, 246	45, 411	11, 374	629	1, 193
Rural	134, 999	35, 812	861	10, 204	110, 571	32, 874	744	9, 705

per 1,000 Women, by Color, Nativity, and Marital Condition, for Divisions and States: 1920—Continued

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OF AGE				CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE					
	White mothers		Colored mothers		All women			Married, widowed, or divorced women		
	Native	Foreign born	Negro	Other colored	White		Negro	White		Negro
					Native	Foreign born		Native	Foreign born	
MOUNTAIN—continued										
UTAH	51, 910	8, 607	95	763	788	883	263	983	993	291
Ogden	3, 072	739	16	47	571	791	------	719	916	------
Salt Lake City	9, 993	2, 710	39	63	498	690	199	660	822	223
100,000 and over	9, 993	2, 710	39	63	498	690	199	660	822	223
25,000 to 100,000	3, 072	739	16	47	571	791	------	719	916	------
10,000 to 25,000	1, 139	97	------	------	716	610	------	956	789	------
2,500 to 10,000	6, 282	1, 078	3	9	807	962	------	1, 029	1, 039	------
Rural	31, 424	3, 983	37	644	1, 012	1, 104	------	1, 203	1, 169	------
NEVADA	4, 577	1, 586	15	565	447	719	------	537	770	------
10,000 to 25,000	582	179	1	20	270	438	------	350	504	------
2,500 to 10,000	210	83	------	7	444	748	------	516	783	------
Rural	3, 785	1, 324	14	538	498	785	------	586	829	------
PACIFIC										
WASHINGTON	93, 853	27, 954	399	4, 228	462	591	268	583	674	302
Bellingham	1, 635	578	1	18	410	613	------	552	705	------
Everett	1, 785	595	24	7	411	545	------	524	613	------
Seattle	15, 747	6, 987	130	1, 334	300	430	179	400	523	201
Spokane	6, 649	1, 675	50	28	346	500	311	470	600	350
Tacoma	5, 458	2, 330	53	184	365	577	269	478	663	306
100,000 and over	22, 396	8, 662	180	1, 362	312	442	203	419	536	228
25,000 to 100,000	8, 878	3, 503	78	209	381	577	338	499	661	385
10,000 to 25,000	5, 009	1, 418	29	51	430	593	------	546	666	------
2,500 to 10,000	8, 016	1, 714	41	98	458	598	318	571	663	369
Rural	49, 554	12, 657	71	2, 508	628	774	433	745	828	477
OREGON	59, 412	10, 473	117	1, 316	463	583	241	581	673	273
Portland	14, 771	4, 747	82	370	312	493	211	415	595	234
100,000 and over	14, 771	4, 747	82	370	312	493	211	415	595	234
10,000 to 25,000	2, 376	690	2	53	334	513	------	470	602	------
2,500 to 10,000	6, 869	633	12	55	416	536	------	525	606	------
Rural	35, 396	4, 403	21	838	619	757	------	730	817	------
CALIFORNIA	177, 831	78, 349	2, 596	16, 951	341	579	273	451	679	322
Alameda	1, 655	616	25	138	342	501	------	463	571	------
Berkeley	2, 995	867	39	155	293	406	264	457	514	351
Fresno	2, 285	1, 377	47	202	307	699	409	399	784	------
Long Beach	2, 727	440	5	79	276	357	------	369	440	------
Los Angeles	23, 384	11, 526	988	2, 230	234	452	230	319	557	269
Oakland	10, 863	4, 625	296	623	307	504	223	407	579	255
Pasadena	2, 079	511	81	71	267	307	312	418	510	399
Sacramento	3, 476	1, 197	40	442	304	565	256	395	641	299
San Diego	3, 476	1, 404	81	147	284	529	338	382	638	388
San Francisco	18, 698	12, 338	133	1, 352	228	420	211	331	522	263
San Jose	1, 847	1, 063	16	85	295	696	------	430	797	------
Stockton	2, 107	681	17	232	317	550	------	407	610	------
100,000 and over	52, 945	28, 489	1, 417	4, 205	244	445	227	338	545	265
25,000 to 100,000	22, 647	8, 156	351	1, 551	295	517	307	407	626	374
10,000 to 25,000	11, 718	3, 896	178	416	348	568	367	450	670	441
2,500 to 10,000	22, 825	8, 947	257	1, 131	389	693	339	503	787	409
Rural	67, 696	28, 861	393	9, 648	501	806	456	612	878	528

TABLE II.—PER CENT OF WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED, BY COLOR, NATIVITY, AND PARENTAGE, AND TOTALS FOR NATIVE WHITE WOMEN BY PARENTAGE, FOR COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY STATES: 1920 [1]

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	PER CENT MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED					NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE			
	Native white women 20 to 44 years of age			Foreign-born white women 20 to 44 years of age	Negro women 20 to 44 years of age	Native parentage		Foreign or mixed parentage	
	Total	Native parentage	Foreign or mixed parentage			All women	Married, widowed, or divorced	All women	Married, widowed, or divorced
United States	74. 2	77. 0	67. 3	85. 5	83. 5	10, 437, 051	8, 038, 645	4, 217, 406	2, 838, 951
Cities 100,000 and over	66. 5	69. 6	62. 9	82. 9	81. 3	2, 121, 679	1, 477, 403	1, 781, 763	1, 120, 297
25,000 to 100,000	70. 5	73. 5	64. 5	85. 0	82. 7	1, 061, 141	779, 863	526, 684	339, 491
10,000 to 25,000	71. 4	74. 0	65. 2	87. 2	82. 4	744, 215	550, 918	318, 635	207, 773
2,500 to 10,000	73. 9	75. 8	68. 1	87. 8	81. 7	1, 108, 246	839, 683	370, 357	252, 323
Rural	80. 2	81. 3	75. 3	91. 4	84. 9	5, 401, 770	4, 390, 778	1, 219, 967	919, 067
New England	62. 2	67. 7	56. 1	81. 1	76. 0	492, 738	333, 539	440, 587	247, 214
Cities 100,000 and over	55. 8	60. 1	52. 8	79. 1	78. 1	109, 081	65, 513	156, 993	82, 954
25,000 to 100,000	58. 9	64. 2	54. 3	79. 9	71. 5	98, 673	63, 348	115, 177	62, 570
10,000 to 25,000	61. 2	66. 3	55. 9	83. 3	73. 5	69, 749	46, 216	66, 962	37, 450
2,500 to 10,000	64. 4	68. 6	58. 4	82. 1	71. 6	68, 739	47, 164	48, 517	28, 322
Rural	73. 8	76. 0	67. 8	87. 8	74. 3	146, 496	111, 298	52, 938	35, 918
Middle Atlantic	67. 7	70. 8	62. 8	84. 5	77. 7	1, 826, 061	1, 292, 521	1, 141, 116	717, 135
Cities 100,000 and over	62. 6	65. 2	60. 2	81. 5	77. 4	626, 661	408, 832	697, 337	419, 837
25,000 to 100,000	67. 1	69. 6	62. 8	87. 8	76. 6	218, 199	151, 818	124, 901	78, 438
10,000 to 25,000	68. 4	70. 3	64. 5	91. 0	81. 3	160, 748	113, 040	80, 294	51, 818
2,500 to 10,000	70. 9	72. 4	67. 2	90. 5	77. 0	216, 706	156, 949	88, 883	59, 752
Rural	75. 5	76. 5	71. 7	91. 3	79. 1	603, 747	461, 882	149, 701	107, 290
East North Central	74. 7	76. 7	70. 2	89. 0	86. 0	2, 122, 236	1, 628, 091	1, 165, 271	818, 240
Cities 100,000 and over	69. 4	72. 5	66. 3	87. 6	86. 4	494, 029	358, 028	494, 286	327, 726
25,000 to 100,000	73. 6	75. 7	69. 6	89. 7	86. 5	292, 337	221, 409	157, 181	109, 374
10,000 to 25,000	73. 3	75. 4	68. 9	90. 1	85. 4	174, 273	131, 377	85, 450	58, 912
2,500 to 10,000	74. 2	76. 0	69. 9	90. 2	83. 0	239, 448	181, 980	99, 691	69, 728
Rural	79. 0	79. 7	76. 8	93. 0	84. 3	922, 149	735, 297	328, 663	252, 500
West North Central	74. 5	77. 1	69. 9	88. 0	83. 6	1, 279, 795	986, 530	746, 519	522, 117
Cities 100,000 and over	68. 6	71. 6	64. 4	84. 3	84. 4	222, 360	159, 305	164, 807	106, 132
25,000 to 100,000	71. 2	73. 9	65. 7	84. 4	85. 8	91, 724	67, 779	45, 303	29, 772
10,000 to 25,000	71. 4	74. 2	65. 5	84. 3	82. 4	86, 841	64, 424	41, 781	27, 358
2,500 to 10,000	71. 3	73. 9	65. 6	86. 2	81. 8	136, 994	101, 281	63, 272	41, 516
Rural	77. 7	80. 0	73. 6	91. 2	82. 5	741, 876	593, 741	431, 356	317, 339
South Atlantic	78. 2	78. 7	69. 6	88. 3	82. 7	1, 495, 932	1, 176, 855	83, 993	58, 455
Cities 100,000 and over	71. 3	72. 5	66. 6	86. 7	79. 1	159, 590	115, 729	39, 693	26, 431
25,000 to 100,000	75. 7	76. 4	68. 8	86. 2	82. 3	140, 508	107, 335	14, 950	10, 285
10,000 to 25,000	74. 1	74. 2	72. 7	87. 9	80. 5	72, 862	54, 029	4, 249	3, 088
2,500 to 10,000	76. 0	76. 2	71. 6	90. 1	80. 8	121, 074	92, 245	5, 735	4, 106
Rural	80. 5	80. 6	75. 1	91. 4	83. 7	1, 001, 898	807, 517	19, 366	14, 545
East South Central	80. 7	81. 2	67. 9	86. 9	84. 6	1, 049, 047	851, 838	42, 887	29, 118
Cities 100,000 and over	73. 6	75. 0	65. 2	85. 7	84. 1	88, 117	66, 106	16, 725	10, 908
25,000 to 100,000	73. 2	74. 9	63. 5	81. 4	83. 3	50, 941	38, 159	8, 778	5, 575
10,000 to 25,000	76. 2	76. 6	68. 7	86. 6	82. 6	44, 060	33, 760	2, 716	1, 865
2,500 to 10,000	77. 6	78. 0	70. 1	88. 7	81. 0	81, 053	63, 207	4, 286	3, 004
Rural	82. 8	82. 9	74. 8	90. 6	85. 4	784, 876	650, 606	10, 382	7, 766
West South Central	82. 9	83. 6	76. 5	85. 0	86. 2	1, 216, 030	1, 016, 184	129, 152	98, 810
Cities 100,000 and over	74. 4	74. 9	72. 3	82. 2	83. 3	120, 005	89, 920	31, 091	22, 478
25,000 to 100,000	78. 2	79. 0	73. 6	80. 2	85. 2	86, 158	68, 046	13, 441	9, 889
10,000 to 25,000	80. 6	81. 3	74. 9	77. 9	84. 9	71, 798	58, 359	8, 130	6, 090
2,500 to 10,000	81. 0	81. 3	77. 4	84. 7	84. 7	129, 722	105, 406	10, 708	8, 293
Rural	85. 4	85. 9	79. 1	89. 1	87. 1	808, 347	694, 453	65, 782	52, 060

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[1] From a special tabulation, Fourteenth Census.

TABLE II.—PER CENT OF WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED, BY COLOR, NATIVITY, AND PARENTAGE, AND TOTALS FOR NATIVE WHITE WOMEN BY PARENTAGE, FOR COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY STATES: 1920—Continued

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	PER CENT MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED					NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE			
	Native white women 20 to 44 years of age			Foreign-born white women 20 to 44 years of age	Negro women 20 to 44 years of age	Native parentage		Foreign or mixed parentage	
	Total	Native parentage	Foreign or mixed parentage			All women	Married, widowed, or divorced	All women	Married, widowed, or divorced
MOUNTAIN	81.5	82.7	78.9	90.4	88.5	340,378	281,439	150,134	118,468
Cities 100,000 and over	73.2	74.7	70.9	83.9	85.7	39,964	29,859	26,407	18,724
25,000 to 100,000	75.2	76.3	73.4	87.5	87.5	18,959	14,463	10,541	7,733
10,000 to 25,000	75.5	77.3	71.8	84.5	85.7	27,196	21,030	13,351	9,580
2,500 to 10,000	79.5	80.2	77.8	88.8	91.3	49,898	40,012	21,225	16,506
Rural	85.5	86.2	83.9	93.6	92.0	204,361	176,075	78,610	65,925
PACIFIC	77.1	79.2	73.2	85.9	85.5	549,874	435,776	302,804	221,589
Cities 100,000 and over	73.0	75.3	69.8	81.9	86.2	196,912	148,239	139,481	97,302
25,000 to 100,000	73.3	74.6	71.0	84.0	83.1	63,642	47,506	36,412	25,855
10,000 to 25,000	76.9	78.2	74.0	85.8	83.2	36,688	28,683	15,702	11,612
2,500 to 10,000	78.3	79.6	75.2	88.4	83.5	64,612	51,439	28,040	21,096
Rural	83.2	85.0	79.0	92.4	87.3	188,020	159,909	83,169	65,724
NEW ENGLAND									
MAINE	74.1	76.7	65.9	81.7	68.5	82,942	63,625	25,835	17,028
Bangor	61.8	64.6	54.0	76.1	-------	3,325	2,149	1,244	656
Lewiston	59.4	65.7	53.8	68.1	-------	1,809	1,188	2,047	1,101
Portland	64.2	67.8	57.1	78.9	-------	7,301	4,950	3,679	2,100
25,000 to 100,000	62.7	66.6	55.6	74.5	-------	12,435	8,287	6,940	3,857
10,000 to 25,000	68.1	72.4	59.9	76.9	-------	7,243	5,243	3,834	2,296
2,500 to 10,000	71.9	75.5	63.2	83.4	-------	9,677	7,309	4,046	2,557
Rural	79.1	79.8	75.5	87.7	-------	53,587	42,786	11,015	8,318
NEW HAMPSHIRE	68.6	73.2	60.6	80.2	79.2	36,481	26,692	21,038	12,741
Manchester	55.4	63.9	50.1	74.4	-------	3,414	2,181	5,490	2,751
Nashua	61.2	67.3	56.2	78.2	-------	1,494	1,006	1,813	1,018
25,000 to 100,000	57.0	64.9	51.6	75.3	-------	4,908	3,187	7,303	3,769
10,000 to 25,000	65.4	69.8	59.0	82.1	-------	7,204	5,025	4,792	2,826
2,500 to 10,000	69.4	73.2	62.7	81.3	-------	7,501	5,492	4,211	2,639
Rural	76.4	77.0	74.1	89.3	-------	16,868	12,988	4,732	3,507
VERMONT	74.2	75.5	70.4	86.3	70.0	37,783	28,515	12,867	9,061
10,000 to 25,000	64.8	65.6	63.3	84.7	-------	4,868	3,192	2,711	1,716
2,500 to 10,000	67.6	70.3	62.1	81.1	-------	6,739	4,735	3,190	1,980
Rural	78.3	78.7	77.0	89.4	-------	26,176	20,588	6,966	5,365
MASSACHUSETTS	57.9	63.0	53.5	79.0	74.5	222,403	140,043	256,426	137,134
Boston	51.9	55.1	49.8	75.5	75.8	35,128	19,355	54,652	27,244
Brockton	62.3	68.6	55.2	83.2	74.8	4,856	3,330	4,315	2,381
Brookline	51.3	55.9	45.3	34.5	33.2	3,542	1,980	2,673	1,211
Cambridge	50.7	53.8	48.4	75.5	73.6	5,726	3,083	7,623	3,689
Chelsea	53.0	55.8	51.6	85.4	-------	1,118	624	2,184	1,127
Chicopee	63.4	64.0	63.2	86.4	-------	998	639	2,256	1,425
Everett	62.8	67.3	59.2	86.8	79.4	2,144	1,443	2,710	1,604
Fall River	52.5	54.7	51.8	79.3	-------	2,941	1,609	9,802	5,075
Fitchburg	56.5	61.7	53.0	81.9	-------	1,840	1,136	2,819	1,495
Haverhill	64.7	69.5	58.9	82.1	-------	4,147	2,882	3,403	2,006
Holyoke	48.7	56.3	46.0	74.3	-------	1,934	1,089	5,521	2,539
Lawrence	51.1	57.8	48.9	82.7	-------	2,085	1,206	6,498	3,178
Lowell	52.7	59.2	49.6	75.5	-------	4,360	2,583	8,966	4,443
Lynn	62.5	67.2	57.9	80.0	84.9	6,387	4,295	6,527	3,780
Malden	54.4	60.0	49.4	79.6	70.0	2,842	1,705	3,212	1,587
Medford	64.4	68.1	60.7	83.7	-------	3,036	2,069	3,122	1,895
New Bedford	60.0	66.1	56.9	77.6	86.1	3,578	2,364	7,184	4,088
Newton	54.3	60.4	46.1	56.0	48.4	3,914	2,366	2,948	1,360
Pittsfield	61.8	64.7	57.9	85.2	-------	3,771	2,439	2,838	1,643
Quincy	65.5	72.2	59.6	86.4	-------	2,871	2,073	3,222	1,919
Revere	65.8	67.9	64.3	88.8	-------	1,337	908	1,827	1,174
Salem	53.4	55.6	51.8	80.4	-------	2,233	1,241	3,111	1,613
Somerville	58.8	63.3	54.8	83.2	-------	6,267	3,968	7,098	3,893
Springfield	63.7	67.2	59.9	80.2	77.3	10,227	6,873	9,195	5,508

TABLE II.—PER CENT OF WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED, BY COLOR, NATIVITY, AND PARENTAGE, AND TOTALS FOR NATIVE WHITE WOMEN BY PARENTAGE, FOR COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY STATES: 1920—Continued

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	PER CENT MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED					NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE			
	Native white women 20 to 44 years of age			Foreign-born white women 20 to 44 years of age	Negro women 20 to 44 years of age	Native parentage		Foreign or mixed parentage	
	Total	Native parentage	Foreign or mixed parentage			All women	Married, widowed, or divorced	All women	Married, widowed, or divorced
NEW ENGLAND—con.									
MASSACHUSETTS—Con.									
Taunton	54.9	59.6	50.5	81.4	-------	2,169	1,293	2,283	1,153
Waltham	47.9	51.6	44.7	73.1	-------	2,120	1,093	2,412	1,078
Worcester	56.4	62.5	52.1	82.3	79.1	9,463	5,915	13,495	7,033
100,000 and over	54.2	58.5	51.5	77.1	76.9	71,423	41,782	110,917	57,080
25,000 to 100,000	58.1	63.4	53.6	78.9	67.6	59,611	37,779	70,979	38,061
10,000 to 25,000	60.0	64.9	55.3	82.4	65.4	38,573	25,024	39,110	21,622
2,500 to 10,000	61.6	65.7	56.4	81.3	68.5	35,688	23,441	27,581	15,550
Rural	67.5	70.2	61.5	85.7	78.3	17,108	12,017	7,839	4,821
RHODE ISLAND	59.1	64.4	55.3	80.4	76.1	30,725	19,778	42,522	23,497
Cranston	67.1	70.7	62.7	85.3	-------	2,120	1,498	1,712	1,073
Newport	64.8	70.3	60.0	77.8	72.9	1,782	1,252	2,045	1,226
Pawtucket	56.5	59.9	54.8	78.4	-------	2,639	1,580	5,430	2,975
Providence	55.8	60.2	52.6	79.8	77.3	12,600	7,587	17,435	9,176
Woonsocket	52.2	52.9	52.0	75.7	-------	1,142	604	3,618	1,882
100,000 and over	55.8	60.2	52.6	79.8	77.3	12,600	7,587	17,435	9,176
25,000 to 100,000	59.0	64.2	55.9	78.5	71.2	7,683	4,934	12,805	7,156
10,000 to 25,000	60.1	66.8	56.1	82.4	80.0	4,012	2,680	6,690	3,756
2,500 to 10,000	65.5	71.0	60.1	83.0	78.6	4,945	3,511	5,081	3,056
Rural	71.1	71.8	69.1	88.8	-------	1,485	1,066	511	353
CONNECTICUT	62.5	66.6	58.3	87.3	79.9	82,404	54,886	81,899	47,753
Bridgeport	65.2	69.7	61.5	89.2	86.4	7,530	5,245	8,795	5,405
Hartford	59.0	61.5	56.6	82.8	81.3	8,612	5,296	9,127	5,170
Meriden	58.2	62.3	55.9	87.6	-------	1,431	892	2,544	1,421
New Britain	57.9	61.1	55.8	90.5	-------	2,126	1,300	3,297	1,840
New Haven	59.7	62.8	57.1	85.2	79.8	8,916	5,603	10,719	6,123
New London	66.9	71.2	61.5	86.7	75.4	1,952	1,390	1,576	970
Norwalk	66.1	71.0	59.7	89.1	84.6	2,095	1,487	1,577	941
Stamford	64.0	65.9	62.2	89.1	81.2	1,851	1,219	1,898	1,181
Waterbury	57.6	62.7	53.9	87.3	76.9	4,581	2,873	6,258	3,374
100,000 and over	61.2	64.4	58.3	85.9	81.7	25,058	16,144	28,641	16,698
25,000 to 100,000	60.6	65.3	56.7	88.5	80.4	14,036	9,161	17,150	9,727
10,000 to 25,000	58.2	64.4	53.3	89.2	82.1	7,849	5,052	9,825	5,234
2,500 to 10,000	60.7	63.9	57.6	85.8	75.0	4,189	2,676	4,408	2,540
Rural	66.6	69.9	62.0	87.8	73.9	31,272	21,853	21,875	13,554
MIDDLE ATLANTIC									
NEW YORK	64.8	68.0	61.1	81.0	73.2	717,082	487,325	629,895	384,855
Albany	58.4	59.3	56.9	81.0	75.4	12,958	7,687	8,422	4,794
Amsterdam	61.8	65.2	57.5	85.1	-------	2,285	1,489	1,811	1,041
Auburn	64.7	67.4	60.9	89.7	-------	3,067	2,067	2,115	1,288
Binghamton	68.6	71.1	60.5	87.5	76.9	8,601	6,116	2,684	1,624
Buffalo	65.2	66.2	64.3	85.8	84.3	35,340	23,396	42,194	27,137
Elmira	68.2	72.3	57.7	84.7	83.0	6,104	4,414	2,382	1,375
Jamestown	66.4	72.1	61.3	85.2	-------	2,626	1,893	2,864	1,755
Kingston	58.3	59.3	55.9	87.6	66.0	3,398	2,015	1,475	825
Mount Vernon	61.2	60.5	61.9	80.6	72.8	3,261	1,973	2,908	1,801
New Rochelle	63.5	66.0	60.9	76.3	68.3	2,360	1,557	2,335	1,423
New York	59.9	61.9	58.7	79.3	72.8	246,495	152,584	380,886	223,440
Manhattan Boro	54.9	57.4	53.1	73.8	73.0	92,594	53,148	133,154	70,707
Bronx Boro	60.8	64.0	59.3	83.0	68.6	26,806	17,149	57,321	33,994
Brooklyn Boro	61.3	63.2	60.1	84.5	72.8	92,290	58,287	140,037	84,183
Queens Boro	69.5	69.8	69.3	88.0	73.8	28,113	19,624	43,194	29,948
Richmond Boro	64.8	65.4	64.2	85.7	68.7	6,692	4,376	7,180	4,608
Newburgh	63.8	68.0	57.2	90.2	75.5	3,124	2,125	1,980	1,133
Niagara Falls	70.6	73.4	67.3	87.2	87.8	2,944	2,160	2,401	1,616
Poughkeepsie	65.3	67.5	60.3	87.6	82.8	3,953	2,668	1,735	1,046
Rochester	63.8	65.4	61.9	84.5	74.8	24,945	16,325	21,415	13,260
Rome	63.5	62.6	65.7	93.1	-------	2,417	1,512	1,039	683
Schenectady	71.2	72.5	69.3	90.1	86.8	8,097	5,868	5,274	3,653
Syracuse	67.8	70.2	64.1	87.0	80.5	17,404	12,214	11,173	7,166

Table II.—Per Cent of Women 20 to 44 Years of Age Married, Widowed, or Divorced, by Color, Nativity, and Parentage, and Totals for Native White Women by Parentage, for Communities of Different Sizes, by States: 1920—Continued

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	PER CENT MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED					NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE			
	Native white women 20 to 44 years of age			Foreign-born white women 20 to 44 years of age	Negro women 20 to 44 years of age	Native parentage		Foreign or mixed parentage	
	Total	Native parentage	Foreign or mixed parentage			All women	Married, widowed, or divorced	All women	Married, widowed, or divorced
MIDDLE ATLANTIC—con.									
NEW YORK—Continued.									
Troy	52.4	54.4	50.3	79.4	71.0	7,232	3,932	6,605	3,320
Utica	62.5	64.4	60.0	86.8	-------	7,634	4,913	5,953	3,573
Watertown	70.7	71.8	68.4	83.4	-------	3,418	2,455	1,670	1,142
Yonkers	60.9	64.3	58.2	85.2	76.0	6,059	3,893	7,414	4,316
100,000 and over	60.9	63.0	59.4	79.9	73.2	343,201	216,099	471,504	280,113
25,000 to 100,000	64.3	66.9	60.4	85.9	74.5	70,521	47,157	45,231	27,298
10,000 to 25,000	66.6	68.7	62.6	87.1	77.7	56,076	38,502	28,757	17,989
2,500 to 10,000	69.2	70.7	65.7	84.9	69.6	52,340	37,020	23,461	15,406
Rural	75.3	76.2	72.3	86.9	71.9	194,944	148,547	60,942	44,049
NEW JERSEY	68.2	71.1	64.4	88.2	78.6	230,037	163,618	174,894	112,643
Atlantic City	69.9	70.6	68.1	81.6	76.0	4,886	3,451	2,039	1,388
Bayonne	65.1	70.3	62.5	92.6	86.2	2,396	1,684	4,670	2,917
Camden	76.3	77.7	73.2	91.9	83.4	10,962	8,512	4,918	3,600
Clifton	71.1	75.1	69.0	89.3	-------	887	666	1,608	1,109
East Orange	66.8	67.2	65.9	70.2	66.9	6,329	4,254	3,546	2,338
Elizabeth	66.3	67.9	65.0	91.2	81.9	4,846	3,289	6,008	3,905
Hoboken	61.1	64.2	59.5	89.0	-------	2,589	1,662	5,184	3,086
Irvington	74.1	75.6	72.9	92.8	-------	1,898	1,435	2,263	1,649
Jersey City	63.2	65.5	61.5	89.8	83.9	16,399	10,746	23,393	14,392
Kearny	64.7	66.8	63.1	83.3	-------	1,473	984	1,986	1,254
Montclair	63.5	65.9	58.5	66.6	64.5	2,725	1,796	1,347	788
New Brunswick	63.9	65.1	62.0	87.3	81.2	2,299	1,497	1,550	961
Newark	63.9	66.1	61.8	88.2	83.6	23,703	15,671	26,611	16,455
Orange	58.5	60.7	56.5	81.8	74.3	1,932	1,173	2,181	1,232
Passaic	57.8	58.3	57.4	84.8	80.3	1,850	1,079	2,704	1,551
Paterson	59.8	64.8	56.8	84.9	74.8	6,358	4,117	10,281	5,840
Perth Amboy	67.4	71.0	65.6	93.3	91.5	1,143	811	2,176	1,427
Plainfield	66.9	67.4	66.1	82.2	75.7	2,404	1,621	1,431	946
Trenton	67.2	69.5	63.5	90.5	79.7	9,131	6,344	5,700	3,622
West Hoboken	63.3	67.1	61.3	87.5	-------	1,610	1,081	3,220	1,975
West New York	75.2	76.6	74.3	89.0	-------	1,529	1,171	2,618	1,946
100,000 and over	65.0	68.2	61.9	88.6	82.8	66,553	45,390	70,903	43,909
25,000 to 100,000	65.8	67.8	63.9	87.2	74.3	40,796	27,654	44,531	28,472
10,000 to 25,000	67.5	70.2	63.4	87.0	76.8	21,261	14,931	13,995	8,877
2,500 to 10,000	70.8	72.7	67.4	87.5	75.3	36,983	26,876	20,268	13,665
Rural	74.2	75.7	70.3	90.2	80.1	64,444	48,767	25,197	17,720
PENNSYLVANIA	70.9	73.0	65.3	90.0	81.1	878,942	641,578	336,327	219,637
Allentown	72.9	74.4	64.3	89.5	-------	10,873	8,085	1,796	1,154
Altoona	71.3	72.9	63.8	92.8	88.9	9,132	6,657	1,994	1,272
Bethlehem	74.5	77.6	62.8	91.6	-------	5,326	4,131	1,419	891
Chester	75.1	77.5	69.3	93.6	81.1	5,083	3,939	2,066	1,432
Easton	71.4	72.0	68.7	88.6	-------	4,826	3,474	1,137	781
Erie	69.7	72.3	66.2	92.5	84.0	8,581	6,201	6,098	4,037
Harrisburg	73.5	73.9	69.4	87.6	81.8	13,500	9,978	1,250	868
Hazleton	61.6	61.2	62.0	94.5	-------	2,179	1,334	2,436	1,510
Johnstown	69.6	70.9	66.3	95.2	89.1	6,742	4,778	2,535	1,680
Lancaster	67.0	68.0	61.2	84.1	77.9	8,979	6,107	1,502	919
McKeesport	69.4	73.6	64.4	94.1	87.3	3,124	2,299	2,594	1,670
New Castle	75.9	77.0	73.0	92.6	91.8	4,581	3,526	1,620	1,182
Norristown	65.6	66.3	63.2	82.5	71.6	3,998	2,652	1,184	748
Philadelphia	65.4	67.8	61.9	84.2	79.7	145,272	98,538	101,703	62,992
Pittsburgh	64.9	67.2	62.3	85.7	85.2	45,203	30,376	39,315	24,474
Reading	72.4	73.4	65.7	89.5	80.1	17,047	12,507	2,482	1,631
Scranton	60.7	63.1	58.8	89.7	80.9	9,385	5,922	11,430	6,718
Wilkes-Barre	60.9	62.7	59.2	90.1	77.2	5,442	3,410	5,756	3,406
Williamsport	68.2	69.2	63.1	73.6	71.5	5,850	4,049	1,164	735
York	73.2	73.7	65.1	84.3	75.9	8,666	6,387	588	383
100,000 and over	65.4	67.9	61.8	84.9	80.8	216,907	147,343	154,930	95,815
25,000 to 100,000	70.2	72.0	64.5	91.4	81.1	106,882	77,007	35,139	22,668
10,000 to 25,000	69.9	71.5	66.5	94.6	84.5	83,411	59,607	37,542	24,952
2,500 to 10,000	71.7	73.0	67.9	94.3	81.7	127,383	93,053	45,154	30,681
Rural	76.0	76.8	71.6	93.9	80.6	344,359	264,568	63,562	45,521

TABLE II.—PER CENT OF WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED, BY COLOR, NATIVITY, AND PARENTAGE, AND TOTALS FOR NATIVE WHITE WOMEN BY PARENTAGE, FOR COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY STATES: 1920—Continued

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	PER CENT MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED					NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE			
	Native white women 20 to 44 years of age			Foreign-born white women 20 to 44 years of age	Negro women 20 to 44 years of age	Native parentage		Foreign or mixed parentage	
	Total	Native parentage	Foreign or mixed parentage			All women	Married, widowed, or divorced	All women	Married, widowed, or divorced
EAST NORTH CENTRAL									
OHIO	75.6	77.1	70.8	91.0	85.7	691,246	533,001	221,760	157,112
Akron	79.1	79.9	75.8	93.6	89.0	26,081	20,845	6,970	5,284
Canton	77.8	78.4	75.3	93.3	86.5	11,519	9,036	3,102	2,335
Cincinnati	65.8	68.0	62.1	81.8	83.9	46,278	31,490	28,272	17,565
Cleveland	70.1	72.2	68.4	90.5	87.9	45,709	32,997	52,596	35,950
Columbus	71.8	72.8	67.7	84.7	85.0	35,848	26,091	8,529	5,775
Dayton	75.9	77.4	70.3	91.3	88.1	22,284	17,247	5,955	4,185
East Cleveland	72.4	73.1	71.4	78.5	-------	3,600	2,631	2,424	1,731
Hamilton	74.7	75.6	71.7	93.1	92.6	5,406	4,086	1,699	1,219
Lakewood	74.4	75.7	72.5	88.6	-------	4,761	3,603	3,336	2,418
Lima	78.5	80.1	70.2	87.2	85.7	6,887	5,515	1,269	891
Lorain	80.3	82.5	77.2	96.3	87.1	2,155	1,778	1,544	1,192
Mansfield	75.3	77.4	67.2	90.6	-------	3,965	3,069	1,009	677
Marion	81.1	81.6	77.5	92.6	-------	4,813	3,926	683	529
Newark	76.5	78.2	65.6	91.2	86.1	4,319	3,379	698	458
Portsmouth	76.2	77.1	69.1	-------	88.6	5,864	4,522	737	509
Springfield	74.5	76.6	65.0	89.7	88.2	8,709	6,669	1,864	1,212
Steubenville	75.2	76.5	71.5	93.3	86.5	2,977	2,278	1,108	792
Toledo	74.7	76.6	71.6	90.1	87.1	26,197	20,069	16,199	11,598
Warren	77.1	76.8	78.2	92.1	84.8	3,492	2,683	944	738
Youngstown	74.5	77.3	70.9	92.5	90.0	9,539	7,373	7,489	5,313
Zanesville	75.5	76.4	69.2	92.8	83.5	4,796	3,663	675	467
100,000 and over	71.5	73.7	68.0	90.1	86.4	211,936	156,112	126,010	85,670
25,000 to 100,000	76.3	77.6	71.9	91.6	86.6	73,263	56,838	21,092	15,168
10,000 to 25,000	75.4	76.6	71.4	90.7	85.5	60,823	46,614	18,514	13,214
2,500 to 10,000	75.4	76.3	71.3	93.2	81.4	71,846	54,791	15,743	11,225
Rural	79.8	80.0	78.8	94.5	83.1	273,378	218,646	40,401	31,835
INDIANA	78.7	79.7	72.9	91.7	85.2	427,178	340,315	69,431	50,589
Anderson	80.2	81.1	71.0	84.8	89.6	5,172	4,193	517	367
East Chicago	80.9	83.6	78.2	96.4	92.0	1,139	952	1,145	895
Evansville	72.0	72.6	69.9	84.6	80.0	13,124	9,532	3,601	2,518
Fort Wayne	68.5	69.6	65.6	86.3	89.2	12,926	9,001	5,010	3,288
Gary	83.7	84.3	82.6	96.0	91.5	3,289	2,774	1,997	1,649
Hammond	80.9	83.3	77.7	95.1	-------	2,828	2,355	2,140	1,662
Indianapolis	76.6	78.1	69.1	86.2	85.1	49,408	38,605	10,035	6,932
Kokomo	84.6	85.4	75.7	85.6	85.6	5,132	4,385	482	365
Muncie	82.7	83.4	75.6	88.5	90.7	6,278	5,235	574	434
Richmond	76.6	77.9	69.3	88.9	91.1	4,075	3,176	766	531
South Bend	73.9	76.5	69.4	91.7	89.7	6,891	5,270	3,824	2,652
Terre Haute	76.5	78.7	66.5	87.0	84.0	10,350	8,141	2,208	1,469
100,000 and over	76.6	78.1	69.1	86.2	85.1	49,408	38,605	10,035	6,932
25,000 to 100,000	75.8	77.3	71.1	93.5	86.7	71,204	55,014	22,264	15,830
10,000 to 25,000	77.9	79.4	71.1	91.7	84.4	43,044	34,179	9,672	6,873
2,500 to 10,000	77.6	78.3	72.1	89.4	78.9	50,068	39,190	6,562	4,730
Rural	80.9	81.2	77.6	90.4	83.6	213,454	173,327	20,898	16,224
ILLINOIS	71.6	75.0	66.8	86.9	85.5	558,739	419,108	406,984	271,989
Aurora	69.0	71.2	66.7	89.5	85.8	3,219	2,292	2,922	1,948
Bloomington	69.0	71.1	64.6	81.8	84.1	3,678	2,616	1,809	1,168
Chicago	65.3	68.2	63.6	86.1	85.5	130,865	89,209	229,244	145,846
Cicero	72.7	74.1	72.4	92.7	-------	856	634	3,976	2,879
Danville	78.7	80.5	72.4	84.8	88.1	4,862	3,914	1,371	993
Decatur	76.4	77.4	72.0	88.9	84.6	6,877	5,324	1,598	1,151
East St. Louis	80.1	81.9	74.6	93.3	89.8	7,987	6,540	2,573	1,920
Elgin	60.2	58.9	61.5	78.0	-------	2,674	1,574	2,549	1,568
Evanston	60.8	64.0	56.9	67.0	81.0	3,583	2,293	2,864	1,629
Joliet	63.2	65.4	61.5	91.3	88.5	2,506	1,638	3,138	1,930
Moline	74.5	79.7	69.4	88.6	-------	2,502	1,995	2,600	1,804
Oak Park	66.2	67.4	64.9	66.2	-------	4,194	2,826	4,006	2,599
Peoria	71.1	73.6	65.6	79.6	81.9	10,192	7,504	4,838	3,176
Quincy	67.8	69.9	63.5	75.1	77.8	4,624	3,231	2,271	1,442
Rock Island	74.9	77.9	70.9	87.6	89.5	3,684	2,871	2,777	1,968
Rockford	66.4	69.7	63.0	86.8	90.2	5,170	3,606	5,043	3,177

Table II.—Per Cent of Women 20 to 44 Years of Age Married, Widowed, or Divorced, by Color, Nativity, and Parentage, and Totals for Native White Women by Parentage, for Communities of Different Sizes, by States: 1920—Continued

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	PER CENT MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED					NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE			
	Native white women 20 to 44 years of age			Foreign-born white women 20 to 44 years of age	Negro women 20 to 44 years of age	Native parentage		Foreign or mixed parentage	
	Total	Native parentage	Foreign or mixed parentage			All women	Married, widowed, or divorced	All women	Married, widowed, or divorced
EAST NORTH CENTRAL—continued									
Illinois—Continued									
Springfield	67.7	69.9	62.5	86.5	79.8	7,624	5,331	3,332	2,083
100,000 and over	65.3	68.2	63.6	86.1	85.5	130,865	89,209	229,244	145,846
25,000 to 100,000	70.2	73.0	65.9	85.3	85.4	74,232	54,189	47,667	31,435
10,000 to 25,000	72.0	73.7	68.6	90.5	85.8	43,248	31,892	23,120	15,861
2,500 to 10,000	74.8	76.6	70.3	89.1	85.6	67,757	51,870	27,066	19,020
Rural	78.1	79.1	74.9	92.0	85.6	242,637	191,948	79,887	59,827
Michigan	77.2	79.7	74.0	89.8	89.1	282,834	225,527	229,168	169,557
Battle Creek	76.9	77.4	74.8	85.2	84.8	5,594	4,331	1,557	1,165
Bay City	71.4	76.1	68.9	85.2	-------	2,568	1,953	4,961	3,419
Detroit	74.4	76.9	71.9	87.9	89.5	65,552	50,413	66,629	47,919
Flint	81.0	81.5	80.1	92.2	92.5	9,473	7,721	5,351	4,284
Grand Rapids	69.6	73.4	66.1	86.8	85.0	10,844	7,958	11,737	7,762
Hamtramck	85.2	86.8	84.9	96.6	93.0	190	165	1,145	972
Highland Park	78.0	80.1	75.1	88.1	82.5	4,262	3,412	3,012	2,262
Jackson	79.3	80.0	77.6	89.1	89.5	6,075	4,859	2,451	1,901
Kalamazoo	74.1	76.0	70.1	86.8	83.8	5,676	4,314	2,772	1,942
Lansing	81.3	82.3	78.7	92.2	88.3	7,698	6,334	2,905	2,285
Muskegon	74.7	80.2	70.8	88.2	-------	2,460	1,972	3,535	2,504
Pontiac	79.8	81.1	77.3	87.8	85.4	3,753	3,042	1,919	1,483
Port Huron	75.7	76.8	74.8	86.1	92.5	1,517	1,165	2,045	1,530
Saginaw	73.1	75.0	71.8	88.3	-------	4,350	3,262	5,991	4,300
100,000 and over	73.7	76.4	71.1	87.8	89.4	76,396	58,371	78,366	55,681
25,000 to 100,000	77.3	79.3	74.5	90.9	89.3	53,616	42,530	37,644	28,047
10,000 to 25,000	70.1	73.3	67.2	88.7	82.1	12,631	9,258	13,922	9,362
2,500 to 10,000	75.0	78.4	70.6	91.1	87.7	29,693	23,293	23,170	16,356
Rural	81.6	83.3	79.0	93.5	87.5	110,498	92,075	76,066	60,111
Wisconsin	69.8	67.9	71.0	90.2	85.8	162,239	110,140	237,928	168,993
Green Bay	66.9	62.8	69.8	81.6	-------	2,466	1,548	3,432	2,396
Kenosha	70.2	69.9	70.4	91.9	-------	2,102	1,470	2,717	1,913
La Crosse	61.8	60.4	62.7	83.0	-------	2,366	1,430	3,584	2,246
Madison	60.3	59.9	60.6	83.5	-------	4,344	2,604	3,651	2,213
Milwaukee	64.9	61.9	66.4	88.9	88.6	25,424	15,731	50,631	33,597
Oshkosh	63.6	62.7	64.1	85.6	-------	2,104	1,319	3,642	2,336
Racine	67.8	68.2	67.6	90.5	-------	3,286	2,241	5,107	3,453
Sheboygan	66.7	61.1	69.7	92.6	-------	1,507	921	2,835	1,975
Superior	68.0	70.7	66.6	88.1	-------	1,847	1,305	3,546	2,362
100,000 and over	64.9	61.9	66.4	88.9	88.6	25,424	15,731	50,631	33,597
25,000 to 100,000	65.4	64.1	66.3	89.2	80.9	20,022	12,838	28,514	18,894
10,000 to 25,000	66.3	64.9	67.3	88.4	90.0	14,527	9,434	20,222	13,602
2,500 to 10,000	66.1	63.9	67.8	88.2	-------	20,084	12,836	27,150	18,397
Rural	74.3	72.2	75.8	92.4	80.2	82,182	59,301	111,411	84,503
WEST NORTH CENTRAL									
Minnesota	66.3	68.0	65.4	86.6	87.0	123,106	83,742	232,999	152,477
Duluth	63.5	70.6	60.3	82.6	93.7	4,414	3,116	9,774	5,892
Minneapolis	62.5	65.9	60.3	80.8	85.0	27,314	18,004	42,032	25,352
St. Paul	61.9	64.4	60.6	82.4	89.5	14,767	9,515	27,108	16,426
100,000 and over	62.3	65.4	60.4	81.3	86.9	42,081	27,519	69,140	41,778
25,000 to 100,000	63.5	70.6	60.3	82.6	93.7	4,414	3,116	9,774	5,892
10,000 to 25,000	60.5	59.2	61.4	85.8	-------	7,704	4,563	10,901	6,696
2,500 to 10,000	64.6	66.3	63.6	89.6	-------	12,065	8,002	21,620	13,742
Rural	70.0	71.3	69.4	91.5	-------	56,842	40,542	121,564	84,369
Iowa	74.6	75.9	72.1	88.3	87.3	262,304	199,152	146,316	105,485
Cedar Rapids	71.8	72.5	70.6	86.4	90.7	5,578	4,043	3,246	2,293
Council Bluffs	73.4	77.3	65.2	87.9	91.7	4,522	3,494	2,122	1,384
Davenport	71.0	72.0	69.7	86.1	90.1	5,986	4,310	4,975	3,467
Des Moines	71.4	73.4	66.0	82.1	85.6	18,889	13,858	6,711	4,430
Dubuque	60.7	59.7	61.8	80.9	-------	3,880	2,315	3,814	2,356

TABLE II.—PER CENT OF WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED, BY COLOR, NATIVITY, AND PARENTAGE, AND TOTALS FOR NATIVE WHITE WOMEN BY PARENTAGE, FOR COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY STATES: 1920—Continued

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	PER CENT MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED					NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE			
	Native white women 20 to 44 years of age			Foreign-born white women 20 to 44 years of age	Negro women 20 to 44 years of age	Native parentage		Foreign or mixed parentage	
	Total	Native parentage	Foreign or mixed parentage			All women	Married, widowed, or divorced	All women	Married, widowed, or divorced
WEST NORTH CENTRAL—continued									
IOWA—Continued.									
Sioux City	69.3	71.4	66.0	84.8	89.3	8,052	5,746	4,872	3,215
Waterloo	75.5	75.3	76.0	90.3	95.5	4,972	3,742	2,232	1,697
100,000 and over	71.4	73.4	66.0	82.1	85.6	18,889	13,858	6,711	4,430
25,000 to 100,000	70.2	71.7	67.8	85.8	91.4	32,990	23,650	21,261	14,412
10,000 to 25,000	71.1	73.2	67.2	85.3	86.6	22,929	16,793	12,607	8,475
2,500 to 10,000	69.5	71.4	65.0	83.9	85.6	34,116	24,357	14,275	9,273
Rural	77.4	78.6	75.3	91.1	86.5	153,380	120,494	91,462	68,895
MISSOURI	76.7	78.5	69.8	86.4	82.7	465,901	365,510	114,653	80,039
Joplin	82.1	82.3	80.1	87.3	84.3	5,588	4,610	573	459
Kansas City	74.5	75.8	69.7	85.9	82.0	50,541	38,315	14,131	9,846
St. Joseph	73.7	77.1	62.2	87.7	85.4	11,245	8,673	3,382	2,103
St. Louis	68.7	70.0	66.9	86.5	83.8	81,408	56,982	57,556	38,498
Springfield	76.2	76.7	70.8	77.5	84.5	7,402	5,680	787	557
100,000 and over	70.5	72.2	67.4	86.3	83.3	131,949	95,297	71,687	48,344
25,000 to 100,000	76.2	78.2	65.8	86.8	85.0	24,235	18,954	4,742	3,119
10,000 to 25,000	75.5	76.5	69.9	84.5	78.5	16,881	12,912	3,045	2,129
2,500 to 10,000	75.0	75.9	69.5	78.5	80.0	35,574	27,016	5,958	4,140
Rural	81.6	82.1	76.3	88.8	82.8	257,262	211,331	29,221	22,307
NORTH DAKOTA	73.2	76.6	71.3	90.0	-------	28,270	21,648	51,958	37,055
10,000 to 25,000	62.7	66.8	59.9	79.9	-------	3,588	2,396	5,248	3,141
2,500 to 10,000	65.8	70.4	62.0	81.7	-------	3,051	2,149	3,806	2,361
Rural	75.4	79.1	73.5	91.3	-------	21,631	17,103	42,904	31,553
SOUTH DAKOTA	75.7	77.4	74.1	88.9	80.4	46,616	36,082	49,106	36,396
Sioux Falls	69.9	72.0	67.5	83.8	-------	2,687	1,935	2,264	1,528
25,000 to 100,000	69.9	72.0	67.5	83.8	-------	2,687	1,935	2,264	1,528
10,000 to 25,000	68.1	69.0	67.1	81.7	-------	1,542	1,064	1,233	827
2,500 to 10,000	69.4	70.8	67.2	77.7	-------	6,842	4,844	4,579	3,079
Rural	77.3	79.4	75.5	90.7	-------	35,545	28,239	41,030	30,962
NEBRASKA	75.6	77.8	72.6	88.9	88.1	125,199	97,368	86,479	62,744
Lincoln	67.9	70.1	62.9	85.0	84.2	7,247	5,081	3,153	1,984
Omaha	70.1	73.4	65.7	86.8	88.5	18,278	13,425	13,636	8,961
100,000 and over	70.1	73.4	65.7	86.8	88.5	18,278	13,425	13,636	8,961
25,000 to 100,000	67.9	70.1	62.9	85.0	84.2	7,247	5,081	3,153	1,984
10,000 to 25,000	74.1	76.4	69.6	85.5	-------	4,338	3,314	2,249	1,565
2,500 to 10,000	72.7	75.5	66.5	86.8	89.1	15,460	11,665	6,775	4,508
Rural	78.0	80.0	75.4	91.3	84.5	79,876	63,883	60,666	45,726
KANSAS	78.7	80.1	73.7	90.0	84.9	228,399	183,028	65,008	47,921
Kansas City	79.9	82.5	72.1	92.4	89.1	11,163	9,206	3,633	2,619
Topeka	70.0	71.4	65.3	85.7	79.8	7,175	5,123	2,094	1,368
Wichita	76.0	76.4	72.9	81.5	87.3	12,976	9,920	2,015	1,469
100,000 and over	79.9	82.5	72.1	92.4	89.1	11,163	9,206	3,633	2,619
25,000 to 100,000	73.7	74.7	69.0	83.8	83.3	20,151	15,043	4,109	2,837
10,000 to 25,000	76.8	78.3	69.6	84.1	84.2	29,859	23,382	6,498	4,525
2,500 to 10,000	76.5	77.8	70.5	88.1	84.6	29,886	23,248	6,259	4,413
Rural	80.1	81.7	75.3	91.5	80.8	137,340	112,149	44,509	33,527
SOUTH ATLANTIC									
DELAWARE	76.0	77.8	67.4	89.6	77.5	26,207	20,381	5,277	3,558
Wilmington	72.1	74.2	66.0	90.0	72.9	11,981	8,886	4,165	2,749
100,000 and over	72.1	74.2	66.0	90.0	72.9	11,981	8,886	4,165	2,749
2,500 to 10,000	71.6	72.6	63.9	95.5	78.3	1,245	904	155	99
Rural	81.1	81.6	74.2	86.6	81.6	12,981	10,591	957	710

Table II.—Per Cent of Women 20 to 44 Years of Age Married, Widowed, or Divorced, by Color, Nativity, and Parentage, and Totals for Native White Women by Parentage, for Communities of Different Sizes, by States: 1920—Continued

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	PER CENT MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED					NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE			
	Native white women 20 to 44 years of age			Foreign-born white women 20 to 44 years of age	Negro women 20 to 44 years of age	Native parentage		Foreign or mixed parentage	
	Total	Native parentage	Foreign or mixed parentage			All women	Married, widowed, or divorced	All women	Married, widowed, or divorced
SOUTH ATLANTIC—contd.									
Maryland	72.8	74.0	67.5	86.1	79.3	169,511	125,369	38,682	26,092
Baltimore	69.6	70.9	66.3	86.1	77.6	80,713	57,215	30,325	20,107
Cumberland	71.3	72.4	65.1	84.5	77.7	4,859	3,519	857	558
Hagerstown	76.1	76.1	75.8	-------	75.4	5,152	3,922	244	185
100,000 and over	69.6	70.9	66.3	86.1	77.6	80,713	57,215	30,325	20,107
25,000 to 100,000	73.7	74.3	67.5	83.9	76.3	10,011	7,441	1,101	743
10,000 to 25,000	71.6	72.1	65.5	84.1	74.2	2,792	2,014	255	167
2,500 to 10,000	73.5	73.9	70.4	84.8	78.2	7,802	5,768	995	700
Rural	77.2	77.6	72.8	87.0	82.4	68,193	52,931	6,006	4,375
Dist. of Columbia	54.7	55.2	52.2	74.4	74.4	64,960	35,872	14,943	7,805
Washington	54.7	55.2	52.2	74.4	74.4	64,960	35,872	14,943	7,805
Virginia	76.5	76.7	69.6	89.2	79.7	269,234	206,637	8,624	6,001
Lynchburg	66.3	66.4	61.9	-------	73.1	4,728	3,140	155	96
Newport News	82.9	84.1	71.8	90.4	81.8	3,361	2,827	376	270
Norfolk	77.9	78.5	71.6	90.0	80.7	13,150	10,324	1,371	982
Petersburg	72.9	73.2	63.8	87.4	75.7	3,559	2,605	130	83
Portsmouth	79.7	80.3	71.4	92.9	84.5	5,465	4,388	405	289
Richmond	68.9	69.3	64.4	83.3	75.1	23,683	16,410	2,067	1,332
Roanoke	75.9	76.2	66.0	87.4	77.0	8,488	6,469	306	202
100,000 and over	72.1	72.6	67.3	87.0	77.6	36,833	26,734	3,438	2,314
25,000 to 100,000	75.5	75.9	68.5	90.0	79.7	25,601	19,429	1,372	940
10,000 to 25,000	71.2	71.3	68.5	88.3	75.5	10,216	7,284	387	265
2,500 to 10,000	75.0	75.2	69.8	92.6	77.8	16,678	12,543	537	375
Rural	78.1	78.2	72.9	90.7	80.8	179,906	140,647	2,890	2,107
West Virginia	80.8	81.3	71.8	94.9	86.3	208,026	169,029	10,381	7,457
Charleston	77.2	77.8	68.8	84.7	77.3	6,986	5,435	538	370
Clarksburg	77.6	78.3	69.9	90.9	78.3	4,749	3,717	432	302
Huntington	78.9	79.1	73.3	81.9	78.5	9,510	7,525	397	291
Wheeling	69.5	71.3	65.1	87.1	79.0	7,196	5,133	2,938	1,914
25,000 to 100,000	75.4	76.7	66.8	87.2	78.0	28,441	21,810	4,305	2,877
10,000 to 25,000	73.9	74.4	67.1	90.2	78.4	15,127	11,253	1,094	734
2,500 to 10,000	78.7	79.3	71.9	93.2	80.9	16,705	13,239	1,317	947
Rural	83.0	83.1	79.1	97.6	89.5	147,753	122,727	3,665	2,899
North Carolina	77.9	78.0	68.6	80.4	79.3	299,290	233,417	2,172	1,490
Asheville	72.5	73.3	55.0	65.8	75.4	4,651	3,407	209	115
Charlotte	72.7	72.7	73.5	87.2	79.3	6,842	4,976	200	147
Wilmington	75.2	75.7	65.0	87.5	80.2	3,930	2,976	200	130
Winston-Salem	71.4	71.3	74.1	-------	77.8	5,783	4,124	81	60
25,000 to 100,000	72.8	73.0	65.5	80.2	78.4	21,206	15,483	690	452
10,000 to 25,000	72.4	72.5	66.3	84.6	78.0	21,378	15,493	359	238
2,500 to 10,000	75.6	75.7	66.4	88.4	77.3	25,658	19,419	283	188
Rural	79.2	79.2	72.9	75.6	79.8	231,048	183,022	840	612
South Carolina	78.3	78.5	67.4	86.9	82.5	139,491	109,476	2,316	1,561
Charleston	72.1	73.6	64.2	87.1	82.0	5,930	4,367	1,113	714
Columbia	70.3	70.5	72.8	84.1	79.0	5,186	3,655	156	98
25,000 to 100,000	71.3	72.2	64.0	86.2	81.0	11,116	8,022	1,269	812
10,000 to 25,000	74.6	74.7	70.3	88.4	81.4	9,295	6,945	222	156
2,500 to 10,000	72.7	73.0	61.4	87.4	78.7	14,718	10,739	293	180
Rural	80.3	80.3	77.6	87.1	83.1	104,362	83,770	532	413
Georgia	80.5	80.7	69.2	85.1	85.8	289,601	233,700	5,884	4,073
Atlanta	75.9	76.2	71.4	87.4	84.7	30,063	22,894	1,765	1,261
Augusta	76.0	77.7	55.5	70.3	82.9	5,941	4,614	467	259
Columbus	78.3	78.9	59.7	-------	82.1	4,560	3,598	154	92
Macon	77.7	78.0	69.8	83.2	88.1	6,306	4,918	252	176
Savannah	75.4	77.4	64.8	80.7	83.1	7,600	5,880	1,385	897
100,000 and over	75.9	76.2	71.4	87.4	84.7	30,063	22,894	1,765	1,261
25,000 to 100,000	76.6	77.9	63.1	80.1	84.1	24,407	19,010	2,258	1,424
10,000 to 25,000	79.4	79.5	76.3	90.4	84.9	11,634	9,252	375	286
2,500 to 10,000	77.0	77.1	75.8	91.9	83.1	26,023	20,056	455	345
Rural	82.2	82.3	73.4	84.1	86.5	197,474	162,488	1,031	757

TABLE II.—PER CENT OF WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED, BY COLOR, NATIVITY, AND PARENTAGE, AND TOTALS FOR NATIVE WHITE WOMEN BY PARENTAGE, FOR COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY STATES: 1920—Continued

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	PER CENT MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED					NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE			
	Native white women 20 to 44 years of age			Foreign-born white women 20 to 44 years of age	Negro women 20 to 44 years of age	Native parentage		Foreign or mixed parentage	
	Total	Native parentage	Foreign or mixed parentage			All women	Married, widowed, or divorced	All women	Married, widowed, or divorced
SOUTH ATLANTIC—con.									
FLORIDA	82.7	83.4	77.2	86.1	87.4	94,572	78,846	10,657	8,223
Jacksonville	80.7	81.8	72.6	88.2	87.9	9,404	7,697	1,365	991
Miami	82.5	82.7	81.4	78.4	83.3	3,078	2,546	719	585
Pensacola	81.5	82.1	78.2	79.5	86.0	3,277	2,691	633	495
Tampa	80.2	80.8	78.0	88.7	84.6	3,967	3,206	1,238	966
25,000 to 100,000	77.0	81.8	76.8	86.8	86.5	19,726	16,140	3,955	3,037
10,000 to 25,000	76.2	73.9	79.8	86.4	85.0	2,420	1,788	1,557	1,242
2,500 to 10,000	77.8	78.2	74.8	88.1	84.9	12,245	9,577	1,700	1,272
Rural	84.9	85.3	77.6	83.3	88.6	60,181	51,341	3,445	2,672
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL									
KENTUCKY	80.4	81.4	65.2	84.1	81.4	346,837	282,450	24,635	16,070
Covington	69.1	72.4	61.4	79.8	81.9	7,970	5,771	3,480	2,137
Lexington	70.8	72.7	49.7	80.6	78.9	5,769	4,195	533	265
Louisville	69.2	71.3	63.1	81.9	79.2	30,932	22,059	10,489	6,620
Newport	70.1	72.2	66.0	82.2	88.8	3,935	2,841	1,986	1,311
100,000 and over	69.2	71.3	63.1	81.9	79.2	30,932	22,059	10,489	6,620
25,000 to 100,000	69.8	72.5	61.9	80.9	80.1	17,674	12,807	5,999	3,713
10,000 to 25,000	76.0	76.8	65.0	83.5	80.2	11,109	8,534	829	539
2,500 to 10,000	76.1	76.8	67.4	87.4	78.6	29,821	22,910	2,558	1,723
Rural	83.8	84.0	73.0	88.0	83.9	257,301	216,140	4,760	3,475
TENNESSEE	80.3	80.6	69.0	87.3	83.6	322,143	259,563	8,106	5,593
Chattanooga	74.0	74.8	64.9	86.7	85.7	8,225	6,152	669	434
Knoxville	77.0	77.5	61.9	82.5	82.0	13,867	10,742	473	293
Memphis	75.9	76.7	70.3	86.8	84.4	19,763	15,168	2,817	1,979
Nashville	72.6	73.7	61.3	83.5	81.2	16,460	12,128	1,539	943
100,000 and over	74.5	75.4	67.1	85.9	83.3	36,223	27,296	4,356	2,922
25,000 to 100,000	75.8	76.5	63.7	85.3	84.3	22,092	16,894	1,142	727
10,000 to 25,000	78.2	78.4	68.6	-------	79.8	6,252	4,903	153	105
2,500 to 10,000	77.8	77.9	73.7	93.1	80.1	23,394	18,229	506	373
Rural	82.0	82.1	75.2	90.4	84.4	234,182	192,241	1,949	1,466
ALABAMA	82.0	82.2	73.7	89.0	84.4	238,423	196,087	6,560	4,833
Birmingham	79.3	79.9	72.7	90.0	88.1	20,962	16,751	1,880	1,366
Mobile	74.9	76.1	69.4	75.4	84.8	6,323	4,809	1,278	887
Montgomery	74.8	75.2	69.1	87.4	82.3	4,852	3,649	359	248
100,000 and over	79.3	79.9	72.7	90.0	88.1	20,962	16,751	1,880	1,366
25,000 to 100,000	74.9	75.7	69.3	78.8	83.7	11,175	8,458	1,637	1,135
10,000 to 25,000	78.8	79.1	71.4	87.8	85.9	11,662	9,221	434	310
2,500 to 10,000	80.8	80.9	76.5	88.6	83.7	15,937	12,901	473	362
Rural	83.2	83.2	77.7	92.5	83.9	178,687	148,756	2,136	1,660
MISSISSIPPI	80.1	80.3	73.1	89.3	86.2	141,644	113,738	3,586	2,622
10,000 to 25,000	73.5	73.8	70.1	86.0	81.4	15,037	11,102	1,300	911
2,500 to 10,000	76.8	77.0	72.9	88.3	81.1	11,901	9,167	749	546
Rural	81.4	81.5	75.8	92.1	87.1	114,706	93,469	1,537	1,165
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL									
ARKANSAS	86.0	86.3	77.3	83.9	89.0	202,741	175,007	7,637	5,905
Fort Smith	78.4	80.1	67.0	78.6	82.7	4,572	3,660	663	444
Little Rock	77.3	78.0	71.9	82.6	84.2	9,703	7,568	1,268	912
25,000 to 100,000	77.7	78.7	70.2	81.3	84.0	14,275	11,228	1,931	1,356
10,000 to 25,000	83.0	83.6	76.3	79.5	87.5	6,957	5,819	701	535
2,500 to 10,000	81.9	82.1	78.3	75.2	87.0	19,959	16,379	1,009	790
Rural	87.5	87.6	80.7	88.1	89.7	161,550	141,581	3,996	3,224
LOUISIANA	77.8	78.7	71.2	85.0	84.1	169,686	133,466	20,804	14,818
New Orleans	69.4	69.3	69.5	80.4	79.7	41,295	28,612	14,990	10,422
Shreveport	79.1	79.0	80.4	81.9	85.5	5,369	4,243	479	385
100,000 and over	69.4	69.3	69.5	80.4	79.7	41,295	28,612	14,990	10,422
25,000 to 100,000	79.1	79.0	80.4	81.9	85.5	5,369	4,243	479	385
10,000 to 25,000	76.2	76.7	72.7	84.6	82.4	6,932	5,317	966	702
2,500 to 10,000	75.7	75.8	74.0	88.2	83.2	14,974	11,351	1,206	892
Rural	82.8	83.0	76.4	92.7	85.5	101,116	83,943	3,163	2,417

TABLE II.—PER CENT OF WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED, BY COLOR, NATIVITY, AND PARENTAGE, AND TOTALS FOR NATIVE WHITE WOMEN BY PARENTAGE, FOR COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY STATES: 1920—Continued

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	PER CENT MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED					NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE			
	Native white women 20 to 44 years of age			Foreign-born white women 20 to 44 years of age	Negro women 20 to 44 years of age	Native parentage		Foreign or mixed parentage	
	Total	Native parentage	Foreign or mixed parentage			All women	Married, widowed, or divorced	All women	Married, widowed, or divorced
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL—continued									
OKLAHOMA	86.4	86.8	80.8	91.2	87.8	287,425	249,579	20,820	16,817
Muskogee	81.2	81.2	81.4	-------	86.1	4,635	3,765	436	355
Oklahoma City	78.3	78.8	74.1	86.0	86.8	16,818	13,247	2,085	1,545
Tulsa	78.6	78.6	78.6	81.4	83.2	13,428	10,560	1,433	1,126
25,000 to 100,000	78.8	79.0	76.5	84.2	85.3	34,881	27,572	3,954	3,026
10,000 to 25,000	82.1	82.3	79.9	88.1	86.0	20,445	16,832	1,896	1,514
2,500 to 10,000	84.3	84.5	81.3	91.2	86.7	37,274	31,505	2,697	2,194
Rural	88.7	89.1	82.2	93.8	89.3	194,825	173,670	12,273	10,083
TEXAS	81.7	82.4	76.7	84.5	86.2	556,178	458,132	79,891	61,270
Austin	66.3	67.4	61.5	83.5	79.1	4,564	3,077	1,084	667
Beaumont	82.9	83.2	81.0	86.2	88.4	4,711	3,919	704	570
Dallas	76.1	76.6	72.3	85.2	89.3	27,727	21,235	3,288	2,378
El Paso	78.9	80.1	74.6	77.5	91.5	6,664	5,336	1,914	1,428
Fort Worth	80.3	80.7	76.5	86.9	85.2	17,217	13,890	1,623	1,241
Galveston	74.7	76.7	71.3	87.2	84.6	3,572	2,741	2,116	1,509
Houston	79.0	79.7	76.6	88.0	87.3	16,751	13,346	4,570	3,499
San Antonio	75.2	75.4	74.6	79.9	85.6	17,015	12,837	6,620	4,938
Waco	77.9	79.2	67.7	86.8	86.1	5,696	4,511	728	493
Wichita Falls	84.4	84.3	85.7	89.2	89.3	6,426	5,419	531	455
100,000 and over	77.4	77.9	74.9	82.8	87.2	78,710	61,308	16,101	12,056
25,000 to 100,000	77.8	79.0	72.4	79.6	85.7	31,633	25,003	7,077	5,122
10,000 to 25,000	80.3	81.1	73.1	76.7	85.0	37,464	30,391	4,567	3,339
2,500 to 10,000	79.9	80.3	76.2	83.5	84.0	57,515	46,171	5,796	4,417
Rural	83.5	84.2	78.4	88.4	86.3	350,856	295,259	46,350	36,336
MOUNTAIN									
MONTANA	81.3	83.5	78.1	91.2	87.3	47,536	39,696	32,374	25,297
Butte	73.9	77.5	71.4	87.6	-------	2,514	1,948	3,607	2,574
25,000 to 100,000	73.9	77.5	71.4	87.6	-------	2,514	1,948	3,607	2,574
10,000 to 25,000	73.1	76.5	68.4	84.6	86.6	7,752	5,927	5,580	3,819
2,500 to 10,000	77.6	79.2	75.1	89.2	-------	5,946	4,710	3,657	2,746
Rural	85.1	86.6	82.7	93.9	-------	31,324	27,111	19,530	16,158
IDAHO	84.4	84.9	83.2	91.6	92.3	47,147	40,042	19,230	16,004
10,000 to 25,000	77.7	78.0	76.7	86.3	90.0	4,861	3,794	1,904	1,460
2,500 to 10,000	79.7	80.0	79.1	88.5	-------	10,071	8,054	4,374	3,462
Rural	87.0	87.5	85.6	93.5	-------	32,215	28,194	12,952	11,082
WYOMING	84.9	85.9	82.2	93.9	85.9	22,010	18,903	8,459	6,957
10,000 to 25,000	82.5	84.1	78.8	88.4	84.1	3,386	2,847	1,402	1,105
2,500 to 10,000	81.6	82.7	79.4	93.4	-------	3,458	2,861	1,833	1,456
Rural	86.3	87.0	84.2	95.3	-------	15,166	13,195	5,224	4,396
COLORADO	79.1	81.0	74.0	90.1	86.0	109,535	88,734	40,305	29,809
Colorado Springs	67.2	69.1	60.9	76.1	79.5	4,632	3,200	1,420	865
Denver	72.2	74.5	68.0	83.9	85.3	29,923	22,294	16,394	11,154
Pueblo	77.7	78.6	75.1	92.1	90.9	4,922	3,870	1,778	1,335
100,000 and over	72.2	74.5	68.0	83.9	85.3	29,923	22,294	16,394	11,154
25,000 to 100,000	72.7	74.0	68.8	88.3	85.9	9,554	7,070	3,198	2,200
10,000 to 25,000	72.4	74.0	67.1	87.3	-------	4,627	3,424	1,414	949
2,500 to 10,000	79.3	80.5	75.0	91.6	92.4	12,296	9,899	3,526	2,646
Rural	85.5	86.7	81.5	94.7	88.4	53,135	46,047	15,773	12,860
NEW MEXICO	82.8	83.4	77.2	90.4	92.6	45,716	38,126	5,067	3,914
10,000 to 25,000	73.6	75.3	67.0	83.3	-------	2,360	1,776	597	400
2,500 to 10,000	77.4	78.5	70.9	85.8	87.0	7,582	5,954	1,264	896
Rural	84.7	85.0	81.7	91.7	95.7	35,774	30,396	3,206	2,618

TABLE II.—PER CENT OF WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED, BY COLOR, NATIVITY, AND PARENTAGE, AND TOTALS FOR NATIVE WHITE WOMEN BY PARENTAGE, FOR COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY STATES: 1920—Continued

DIVISION AND COMMUNITY GROUP	PER CENT MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED					NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE			
	Native white women 20 to 44 years of age			Foreign-born white women 20 to 44 years of age	Negro women 20 to 44 years of age	Native parentage		Foreign or mixed parentage	
	Total	Native parentage	Foreign or mixed parentage			All women	Married, widowed, or divorced	All women	Married, widowed, or divorced
MOUNTAIN—continued									
ARIZONA	83.9	84.6	81.9	89.3	91.9	27,431	23,197	9,621	7,882
Phoenix	78.8	79.0	78.0	86.4	90.0	4,017	3,173	1,231	960
25,000 to 100,000	78.8	79.0	78.0	86.4	90.0	4,017	3,173	1,231	960
10,000 to 25,000	77.1	78.6	74.3	80.4	88.0	1,912	1,502	1,010	750
2,500 to 10,000	82.7	83.6	80.4	86.2	93.0	6,435	5,378	2,422	1,947
Rural	86.7	87.2	85.2	92.0	93.3	15,067	13,144	4,958	4,225
UTAH	80.2	79.1	81.4	88.9	90.6	34,758	27,509	31,091	25,309
Ogden	79.4	79.1	79.8	86.4	-------	2,874	2,272	2,505	1,999
Salt Lake City	75.5	75.3	75.6	83.9	89.3	10,041	7,565	10,013	7,570
100,000 and over	75.5	75.3	75.6	83.9	89.3	10,041	7,565	10,013	7,570
25,000 to 100,000	79.4	79.1	79.8	86.4	-------	2,874	2,272	2,505	1,999
10,000 to 25,000	75.0	72.9	78.2	77.4	-------	958	698	632	494
2,500 to 10,000	78.4	76.3	80.3	92.6	-------	3,802	2,901	3,984	3,201
Rural	84.1	82.4	86.3	94.4	-------	17,083	14,073	13,957	12,045
NEVADA	83.3	83.8	82.7	93.3	-------	6,245	5,232	3,987	3,296
10,000 to 25,000	77.4	79.3	74.3	86.8	-------	1,340	1,062	812	603
2,500 to 10,000	86.0	82.8	92.1	95.5	-------	308	255	165	152
Rural	84.9	85.2	84.4	94.7	-------	4,597	3,915	3,010	2,541
PACIFIC									
WASHINGTON	79.3	81.8	74.8	87.7	88.8	129,951	106,277	73,208	54,775
Bellingham	74.3	77.4	69.8	87.0	-------	2,380	1,841	1,603	1,119
Everett	78.4	81.7	74.2	88.8	-------	2,429	1,985	1,918	1,424
Seattle	74.9	77.4	71.2	82.2	89.0	31,151	24,126	21,393	15,230
Spokane	73.6	75.9	69.8	83.4	88.8	12,065	9,159	7,141	4,983
Tacoma	76.3	79.3	72.3	87.0	87.8	8,496	6,739	6,466	4,674
100,000 and over	74.6	77.0	70.8	82.4	89.0	43,216	33,285	28,534	20,213
25,000 to 100,000	76.3	79.4	72.3	87.3	87.9	13,305	10,565	9,987	7,217
10,000 to 25,000	78.9	80.9	74.4	89.0	-------	8,059	6,520	3,580	2,662
2,500 to 10,000	80.2	81.8	76.7	90.1	86.0	11,935	9,764	5,577	4,279
Rural	84.3	86.4	79.9	93.5	90.9	53,436	46,143	25,530	20,404
OREGON	79.7	82.0	74.1	86.6	88.3	91,158	74,763	37,063	27,450
Portland	75.1	78.0	70.0	82.9	90.0	30,175	23,522	17,204	12,042
100,000 and over	75.1	78.0	70.0	82.9	90.0	30,175	23,522	17,204	12,042
10,000 to 25,000	70.9	72.0	68.6	85.2	-------	4,944	3,558	2,178	1,495
2,500 to 10,000	79.3	80.5	75.0	88.4	-------	12,790	10,302	3,706	2,779
Rural	84.8	86.4	79.7	92.7	-------	43,249	37,381	13,975	11,134
CALIFORNIA	75.6	77.5	72.4	85.2	84.9	328,765	254,736	192,533	139,364
Alameda	73.7	75.5	72.0	87.6	-------	2,418	1,826	2,427	1,747
Berkeley	64.2	64.2	64.1	79.0	75.0	6,328	4,065	3,887	2,491
Fresno	76.9	78.6	72.5	89.1	84.3	5,398	4,241	2,045	1,482
Long Beach	74.9	75.2	73.8	81.2	-------	7,427	5,585	2,442	1,803
Los Angeles	73.4	74.6	70.7	81.1	85.6	67,406	50,300	32,540	23,018
Oakland	75.5	77.2	73.6	87.0	87.7	18,774	14,499	16,613	12,222
Pasadena	63.9	64.8	61.5	60.0	78.1	5,614	3,636	2,166	1,333
Sacramento	76.9	78.1	74.9	88.1	85.9	7,066	5,521	4,371	3,274
San Diego	74.3	75.2	72.3	82.9	87.1	8,311	6,248	3,942	2,850
San Francisco	68.9	71.3	66.8	80.4	80.4	37,341	26,633	44,590	29,807
San Jose	68.5	69.9	66.8	87.2	-------	3,557	2,485	2,710	1,809
Stockton	77.9	79.0	75.9	90.1	-------	4,218	3,334	2,435	1,849
100,000 and over	72.0	74.0	69.4	81.6	85.6	123,521	91,432	93,743	65,047
25,000 to 100,000	72.4	73.4	70.5	82.7	82.1	50,337	36,941	26,425	18,638
10,000 to 25,000	77.5	78.6	75.0	84.8	83.3	23,685	18,605	9,944	7,455
2,500 to 10,000	77.4	78.7	74.8	88.0	83.0	39,887	31,373	18,757	14,038
Rural	81.9	83.6	78.3	91.8	86.4	91,335	76,385	43,664	34,186

TABLE III.—PER CENT CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE ARE IN EXCESS OF RATIOS NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN THE POPULATION TEMPORARILY AND PERMANENTLY, BY NATIVITY, FOR COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY STATES: 1920[1]

STATE AND COMMUNITY	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE		INDEX SHOWING PER CENT OF EXCESS OF RATIOS OF CHILDREN OVER TEMPORARY REPLACEMENT NEEDS[2]		Index showing per cent of excess (or deficit) of ratios of children of native white mothers over permanent replacement needs[3]
	Native white	Foreign-born white	Native white	Foreign-born white	
NEW ENGLAND					
MAINE	515	732	65	135	10
Bangor	309	557	5	90	−35
Lewiston	357	592	20	100	−25
Portland	337	664	15	125	−30
25,000 to 100,000	335	623	15	110	−30
10,000 to 25,000	399	689	35	135	−15
2,500 to 10,000	453	763	55	160	−5
Rural	603	811	90	155	30
NEW HAMPSHIRE	435	713	40	130	−10
Manchester	347	658	20	125	−25
Nashua	357	705	20	140	−25
25,000 to 100,000	350	669	20	130	−25
10,000 to 25,000	374	735	30	150	−20
2,500 to 10,000	434	711	50	145	−10
Rural	517	798	60	150	10
VERMONT	525	829	65	165	10
10,000 to 25,000	417	735	40	150	−10
2,500 to 10,000	401	738	35	150	−15
Rural	587	906	85	185	25
MASSACHUSETTS	359	700	15	125	−25
Boston	304	631	10	130	−35
Brockton	333	626	15	115	−30
Brookline	257	218	−10	−25	−45
Cambridge	318	644	15	135	−35
Chelsea	356	791	20	170	−25
Chicopee	485	991	65	240	5
Everett	427	750	45	155	−10
Fall River	379	784	40	190	−20
Fitchburg	390	724	35	145	−15
Haverhill	330	686	10	135	−30
Holyoke	324	650	10	120	−30
Lawrence	301	716	5	145	−35
Lowell	364	650	35	140	−25
Lynn	326	610	10	110	−30
Malden	341	646	15	120	−30
Medford	419	608	45	105	−10
New Bedford	342	601	25	120	−25
Newton	323	489	10	65	−30
Pittsfield	381	848	30	190	−20
Quincy	415	752	40	155	−10
Revere	414	774	40	165	−10
Salem	365	779	25	165	−25
Somerville	347	671	20	130	−25
Springfield	331	692	20	155	−30
Taunton	376	812	30	175	−20
Waltham	288	608	0	105	−40
Worcester	349	764	30	180	−25
100,000 and over	325	661	20	140	−30
25,000 to 100,000	351	679	20	130	−25
10,000 to 25,000	384	779	30	165	−20
2,500 to 10,000	405	795	40	170	−15
Rural	461	827	45	160	0
NEW ENGLAND—continued					
RHODE ISLAND	363	755	15	140	−25
Cranston	374	762	30	160	−20
Newport	390	594	35	105	−15
Pawtucket	374	626	30	115	−20
Providence	301	737	10	170	−35
Woonsocket	386	698	30	140	−20
100,000 and over	301	737	10	170	−35
25,000 to 100,000	380	665	30	125	−20
10,000 to 25,000	422	837	45	185	−10
2,500 to 10,000	438	898	50	205	−5
Rural	436	856	35	165	−10
CONNECTICUT	371	886	20	185	−20
Bridgeport	350	837	30	205	−25
Hartford	292	750	5	175	−40
Meriden	356	905	20	210	−25
New Britain	357	996	20	230	−25
New Haven	326	880	20	220	−30
New London	369	766	25	160	−20
Norwalk	355	781	20	165	−25
Stamford	323	918	10	215	−30
Waterbury	317	863	10	195	−35
100,000 and over	322	825	20	200	−30
25,000 to 100,000	340	898	15	205	−30
10,000 to 25,000	360	991	25	230	−25
2,500 to 10,000	366	919	25	215	−20
Rural	442	910	40	185	−5
MIDDLE ATLANTIC					
NEW YORK	362	664	15	110	−25
Albany	267	722	0	165	−45
Amsterdam	286	793	0	170	−40
Auburn	291	940	0	220	−40
Binghamton	335	901	15	210	−30
Buffalo	364	818	35	200	−25
Elmira	368	733	25	150	−10
Jamestown	328	628	10	115	−30
Kingston	309	761	5	160	−35
Mount Vernon	325	736	10	150	−30
Newburgh	319	767	10	160	−30
New Rochelle	348	639	20	120	−25
New York	316	610	15	125	−35
Manhat. Boro	244	533	−10	95	−50
Bronx Boro	336	602	25	120	−30
Brook. Boro	347	711	25	160	−25
Queens Boro	404	672	50	145	−15
Rich. Boro	414	818	50	200	−10
Niagara Falls	389	878	35	200	−20
Poughkeepsie	344	885	15	200	−25
Rochester	333	775	20	185	−30
Rome	378	1,232	30	320	−20
Schenectady	314	824	5	180	−35
Syracuse	339	842	20	210	−30
Troy	272	622	−5	110	−40

[1] Calculated by use of ratios referred to in Chapter VIII, page 164, applied to General Table I. See also Table 60. Percentages shown in even fives.

[2] Called "temporary replacement index" in text.

[3] Called "permanent replacement index" in text.

TABLE III.—PER CENT CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE ARE IN EXCESS OF RATIOS NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN THE POPULATION TEMPORARILY AND PERMANENTLY, BY NATIVITY, FOR COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY STATES: 1920—Continued

STATE AND COMMUNITY	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE		INDEX SHOWING PER CENT OF EXCESS OF RATIOS OF CHILDREN OVER TEMPORARY REPLACEMENT NEEDS		Index showing per cent of excess (or deficit) of ratios of children of native white mothers over permanent replacement needs
	Native white	Foreign-born white	Native white	Foreign-born white	
MIDDLE ATLANTIC—continued					
NEW YORK—Con.					
Utica	300	871	5	195	−35
Watertown	362	612	25	110	−25
Yonkers	353	760	30	180	−25
100,000 and over	322	629	20	130	−30
25,000 to 100,000	323	807	10	175	−30
10,000 to 25,000	369	916	25	215	−20
2,500 to 10,000	392	854	35	190	−15
Rural	494	837	55	160	5
NEW JERSEY	402	833	30	165	−15
Atlantic City	309	526	5	80	−35
Bayonne	451	1,085	55	270	−5
Camden	453	929	65	240	−5
Clifton	450	753	55	155	−5
East Orange	298	457	0	55	−35
Elizabeth	402	922	35	215	−15
Hoboken	372	720	25	145	−20
Irvington	382	623	30	110	−20
Jersey City	381	888	40	225	−20
Kearny	401	713	35	145	−15
Montclair	338	572	15	95	−30
Newark	332	828	20	205	−30
New Brunswick	394	811	35	175	−15
Orange	404	871	40	195	−15
Passaic	323	795	10	170	−30
Paterson	324	631	20	130	−30
Perth Amboy	479	1,059	65	260	0
Plainfield	370	740	25	155	−20
Trenton	364	903	35	230	−25
West Hoboken	361	540	25	85	−25
West New York	449	637	55	115	−5
100,000 and over	363	829	35	205	−25
25,000 to 100,000	378	804	30	175	−20
10,000 to 25,000	400	861	35	195	−15
2,500 to 10,000	415	824	40	180	−10
Rural	480	896	50	180	0
PENNSYLVANIA	512	1,043	65	235	10
Allentown	398	986	35	235	−15
Altoona	448	1,106	55	275	−5
Bethlehem	500	1,008	70	245	5
Chester	476	1,068	60	265	0
Easton	377	907	30	210	−20
Erie	419	1,094	45	270	−10
Harrisburg	349	720	20	145	−25
Hazleton	504	1,196	70	310	5
Johnstown	533	1,222	80	320	15
Lancaster	416	793	40	170	−10
McKeesport	460	1,074	55	265	0
New Castle	460	1,113	55	280	0
Norristown	370	953	25	225	−20
Philadelphia	370	737	35	170	−20
Pittsburgh	392	869	45	220	−15
Reading	390	1,048	45	285	−15
Scranton	405	990	50	260	−15
Wilkes-Barre	432	1,024	45	245	−10
MIDDLE ATLANTIC—continued					
PENNSYLVANIA—Continued.					
Williamsport	389	809	35	175	−20
York	434	646	50	120	−10
100,000 and over	378	782	40	185	−20
25,000 to 100,000	429	1,048	45	255	−10
10,000 to 25,000	484	1,160	65	295	5
2,500 to 10,000	515	1,211	75	315	10
Rural	671	1,336	110	320	40
EAST NORTH CENTRAL					
OHIO	482	866	55	175	0
Akron	408	847	50	210	−15
Canton	434	932	50	220	−10
Cincinnati	336	503	25	85	−30
Cleveland	356	810	30	195	−25
Columbus	351	691	30	155	−25
Dayton	398	762	45	180	−15
East Cleveland	336	378	15	30	−30
Hamilton	455	865	55	195	−5
Lakewood	343	733	15	150	−25
Lima	457	864	55	195	−5
Lorain	476	1,026	60	250	0
Mansfield	376	946	30	220	−20
Marion	487	763	65	160	5
Newark	391	893	35	205	−15
Portsmouth	507	------	75	------	5
Springfield	439	639	50	120	−5
Steubenville	430	1,187	45	305	−10
Toledo	372	849	35	210	−20
Warren	447	988	55	235	−5
Youngstown	441	1,051	60	285	−5
Zanesville	432	941	45	220	−10
100,000 and over	366	808	35	195	−20
25,000 to 100,000	429	896	45	205	−10
10,000 to 25,000	453	898	55	205	−5
2,500 to 10,000	473	1,001	60	240	0
Rural	633	1,067	100	235	35
INDIANA	519	888	65	185	10
Anderson	432	883	45	200	−10
East Chicago	491	1,208	65	315	5
Evansville	396	457	35	55	−15
Fort Wayne	387	640	30	120	−20
Gary	498	1,030	70	250	5
Hammond	478	1,011	65	240	0
Indianapolis	354	610	30	125	−25
Kokomo	508	722	75	145	5
Muncie	429	557	45	90	−10
Richmond	393	914	35	210	−15
South Bend	441	921	50	215	−5
Terre Haute	384	636	30	115	−20
100,000 and over	354	610	30	125	−25
25,000 to 100,000	421	983	45	235	−10
10,000 to 25,000	467	880	60	200	0
2,500 to 10,000	474	641	60	120	0
Rural	622	847	95	165	30

TABLE III.—PER CENT CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE ARE IN EXCESS OF RATIOS NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN THE POPULATION TEMPORARILY AND PERMANENTLY, BY NATIVITY, FOR COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY STATES: 1920—Continued

STATE AND COMMUNITY	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE		INDEX SHOWING PER CENT OF EXCESS OF RATIOS OF CHILDREN OVER TEMPORARY REPLACEMENT NEEDS		Index showing per cent of excess (or deficit) of ratios of children of native white mothers over permanent replacement needs
	Native white	Foreign-born white	Native white	Foreign-born white	
EAST NORTH CENTRAL—continued					
ILLINOIS	450	734	45	135	−5
Aurora	376	788	30	170	−20
Bloomington	352	598	20	105	−25
Chicago	332	712	20	160	−30
Cicero	470	767	60	160	0
Danville	424	488	45	65	−10
Decatur	403	695	35	135	−15
East St. Louis	431	884	45	200	−10
Elgin	265	367	−10	25	−45
Evanston	351	503	20	70	−25
Joliet	361	960	25	230	−25
Moline	365	539	25	85	−25
Oak Park	337	365	15	25	−30
Peoria	322	531	10	80	−30
Quincy	360	330	25	10	−25
Rockford	320	686	10	135	−30
Rock Island	360	538	25	85	−25
Springfield	352	681	20	130	−25
100,000 and over	332	712	20	160	30
25,000 to 100,000	363	666	25	125	−25
10,000 to 25,000	421	807	45	175	−10
2,500 to 10,000	465	817	60	180	0
Rural	618	879	95	175	30
MICHIGAN	524	859	65	175	10
Battle Creek	345	520	20	75	−25
Bay City	550	698	85	140	15
Detroit	408	786	50	190	−15
Flint	474	792	60	170	0
Grand Rapids	399	770	45	180	−15
Hamtramck	829	1,277	185	335	75
Highland Park	384	632	30	115	−20
Jackson	409	866	40	195	−15
Kalamazoo	388	745	30	150	−20
Lansing	444	723	50	145	−5
Muskegon	491	790	65	170	5
Pontiac	452	594	55	105	−5
Port Huron	512	617	75	110	10
Saginaw	451	769	55	160	−5
100,000 and over	407	784	50	190	−15
25,000 to 100,000	449	876	55	200	−5
10,000 to 25,000	479	861	65	195	0
2,500 to 10,000	514	836	75	185	10
Rural	668	1,020	110	220	40
WISCONSIN	548	862	75	175	15
Green Bay	480	703	65	140	0
Kenosha	460	883	55	200	0
La Crosse	403	552	35	90	−15
Madison	344	678	15	130	−25
Milwaukee	381	755	40	175	−20
Oshkosh	392	810	35	175	−15
Racine	421	798	45	170	−10
Sheboygan	430	955	45	225	−10
Superior	471	753	60	155	0
100,000 and over	381	755	40	175	−15
EAST NORTH CENTRAL—continued					
WISCONSIN—Con.					
25,000 to 100,000	420	870	45	175	−10
10,000 to 25,000	458	759	55	160	−5
2,500 to 10,000	478	801	65	175	0
Rural	679	1,002	110	215	45
WEST NORTH CENTRAL					
MINNESOTA	538	831	70	165	15
Duluth	415	638	40	120	−10
Minneapolis	335	620	25	125	−30
St. Paul	369	626	35	130	−20
100,000 and over	347	622	25	130	−25
25,000 to 100,000	415	638	40	120	−10
10,000 to 25,000	439	774	50	165	−5
2,500 to 10,000	480	884	65	200	0
Rural	687	1,048	115	225	45
IOWA	546	806	75	155	15
Cedar Rapids	363	590	25	100	−25
Council Bluffs	432	697	45	140	−10
Davenport	353	475	20	60	−25
Des Moines	362	617	30	125	−25
Dubuque	426	631	45	115	−10
Sioux City	387	739	30	150	−20
Waterloo	409	687	40	135	−15
100,000 and over	362	617	30	125	−25
25,000 to 100,000	390	647	35	120	−15
10,000 to 25,000	417	700	40	140	−10
2,500 to 10,000	429	661	45	125	−10
Rural	641	926	100	190	35
MISSOURI	510	609	65	95	10
Joplin	396	524	35	80	−15
Kansas City	293	639	5	135	−40
St. Joseph	366	667	25	130	−20
St. Louis	308	579	15	110	−35
Springfield	394	457	35	55	−15
100,000 and over	303	592	10	115	−35
25,000 to 100,000	380	634	30	115	−20
10,000 to 25,000	419	487	45	65	−10
2,500 to 10,000	446	513	50	75	−5
Rural	685	738	115	130	45
NORTH DAKOTA	722	1,199	130	285	55
10,000 to 25,000	426	656	45	125	−10
2,500 to 10,000	486	820	65	180	5
Rural	788	1,269	145	295	65
SOUTH DAKOTA	670	980	115	215	40
Sioux Falls	417	631	40	115	−10
25,000 to 100,000	417	631	40	115	−10
10,000 to 25,000	418	813	40	180	−10
2,500 to 10,000	460	583	55	100	0
Rural	727	1,048	125	225	55

Table III.—Per Cent Children Under 5 per 1,000 White Women 20 to 44 Years of Age are in Excess of Ratios Necessary to Maintain the Population Temporarily and Permanently, by Nativity, for Communities of Different Sizes, by States: 1920—Continued

STATE AND COMMUNITY	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE		INDEX SHOWING PER CENT OF EXCESS OF RATIOS OF CHILDREN OVER TEMPORARY REPLACEMENT NEEDS		Index showing per cent of excess (or deficit) of ratios of children of native white mothers over permanent replacement needs
	Native white	Foreign-born white	Native white	Foreign-born white	
WEST NORTH CENTRAL—con.					
NEBRASKA	578	836	85	165	20
Lincoln	345	905	20	210	−25
Omaha	332	713	20	160	−30
100,000 and over	332	713	20	160	−30
25,000 to 100,000	345	905	20	210	−25
10,000 to 25,000	447	720	55	145	−5
2,500 to 10,000	455	781	55	165	−5
Rural	677	916	110	185	45
KANSAS	574	849	85	170	20
Kansas City	458	935	70	240	−5
Topeka	379	798	30	175	−20
Wichita	367	610	25	110	−20
100,000 and over	458	935	70	240	−5
25,000 to 100,000	372	715	25	145	−20
10,000 to 25,000	423	605	45	105	−10
2,500 to 10,000	460	695	55	135	0
Rural	663	912	105	185	40
SOUTH ATLANTIC					
DELAWARE	491	997	55	220	5
Wilmington	424	1,010	55	270	−10
100,000 and over	424	1,010	55	270	−10
2,500 to 10,000	461	1,145	55	290	0
Rural	571	893	80	180	20
MARYLAND	507	753	60	140	5
Baltimore	462	749	50	175	−10
Cumberland	457	758	55	160	−5
Hagerstown	517	------	75	------	10
100,000 and over	416	749	50	175	−10
25,000 to 100,000	486	802	65	175	55
10,000 to 25,000	461	616	55	110	0
2,500 to 10,000	489	863	65	195	55
Rural	649	771	105	140	35
DIST. OF COLUMBIA	240	491	−10	80	−50
Washington	240	491	−10	80	−50
VIRGINIA	688	723	120	130	45
Lynchburg	416	------	40	------	−10
Newport News	437	620	50	110	−5
Norfolk	380	650	40	140	−20
Petersburg	463	685	60	135	0
Portsmouth	503	705	70	140	5
Richmond	401	608	45	125	−15
Roanoke	520	689	75	135	10
100,000 and over	393	631	45	130	−15
25,000 to 100,000	478	671	65	130	0
10,000 to 25,000	460	590	55	100	0
2,500 to 10,000	560	893	90	205	20
Rural	809	837	155	160	70

STATE AND COMMUNITY	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE		INDEX SHOWING PER CENT OF EXCESS OF RATIOS OF CHILDREN OVER TEMPORARY REPLACEMENT NEEDS		Index showing per cent of excess (or deficit) of ratios of children of native white mothers over permanent replacement needs
	Native white	Foreign-born white	Native white	Foreign-born white	
SOUTH ATLANTIC—continued					
WEST VIRGINIA	788	1,231	150	295	65
Charleston	461	653	55	125	0
Clarksburg	519	1,025	75	250	10
Huntington	512	465	75	60	10
Wheeling	402	854	35	190	−15
25,000 to 100,000	467	833	60	185	0
10,000 to 25,000	474	914	60	210	0
2,500 to 10,000	587	1,068	100	265	25
Rural	915	1,393	185	335	95
NORTH CAROLINA	827	606	165	95	75
Asheville	445	342	50	15	−5
Charlotte	514	616	75	110	10
Wilmington	504	442	70	50	5
Winston-Salem	524	------	80	------	10
25,000 to 100,000	499	478	70	65	5
10,000 to 25,000	516	579	75	95	10
2,500 to 10,000	623	793	110	170	30
Rural	910	655	185	105	95
SOUTH CAROLINA	777	687	150	120	65
Charleston	463	668	60	130	0
Columbia	394	543	35	85	−15
25,000 to 100,000	434	634	50	115	−10
10,000 to 25,000	521	699	80	140	10
2,500 to 10,000	559	726	90	150	20
Rural	872	741	170	130	90
GEORGIA	731	560	135	80	55
Atlanta	377	536	40	95	−20
Augusta	412	500	40	70	−15
Columbus	418	------	45	------	−10
Macon	412	484	40	65	−15
Savannah	449	571	55	95	−5
100,000 and over	377	536	40	95	−20
25,000 to 100,000	426	545	45	85	−10
10,000 to 25,000	522	500	80	70	10
2,500 to 10,000	524	767	80	160	10
Rural	869	555	170	75	90
FLORIDA	627	636	100	105	35
Jacksonville	405	586	40	100	−15
Miami	404	436	40	50	−15
Pensacola	520	568	75	95	10
Tampa	426	748	45	155	−10
25,000 to 100,000	429	664	45	125	−10
10,000 to 25,000	415	649	40	120	−10
2,500 to 10,000	446	673	50	130	−5
Rural	754	553	135	75	60

TABLE III.—PER CENT CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE ARE IN EXCESS OF RATIOS NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN THE POPULATION TEMPORARILY AND PERMANENTLY, BY NATIVITY, FOR COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY STATES: 1920—Continued

STATE AND COMMUNITY	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE		INDEX SHOWING PER CENT OF EXCESS OF RATIOS OF CHILDREN OVER TEMPORARY REPLACEMENT NEEDS		Index showing per cent of excess (or deficit) of ratios of children of native white mothers over permanent replacement needs
	Native white	Foreign-born white	Native white	Foreign-born white	
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL					
KENTUCKY	722	678	130	115	55
Covington	398	513	35	75	−15
Lexington	327	419	10	45	−30
Louisville	358	541	30	100	−25
Newport	389	545	35	85	−20
100,000 and over	358	541	30	100	−25
25,000 to 100,000	377	511	30	75	−20
10,000 to 25,000	445	524	50	80	−5
2,500 to 10,000	479	730	65	150	0
Rural	854	971	165	205	80
TENNESSEE	706	614	125	95	50
Chattanooga	348	521	20	80	−25
Knoxville	482	533	65	80	0
Memphis	339	624	25	130	−30
Nashville	389	360	40	70	−20
100,000 and over	361	582	30	115	−25
25,000 to 100,000	430	525	45	80	−10
10,000 to 25,000	498	------	70	------	5
2,500 to 10,000	536	503	85	70	15
Rural	816	802	155	150	75
ALABAMA	786	771	150	145	65
Birmingham	431	778	60	185	−10
Mobile	427	517	45	75	−10
Montgomery	400	652	35	120	−15
100,000 and over	431	778	60	185	−10
25,000 to 100,000	416	555	40	90	−10
10,000 to 25,000	519	639	75	120	10
2,500 to 10,000	580	789	100	170	25
Rural	894	855	180	175	90
MISSISSIPPI	740	851	135	170	55
10,000 to 25,000	420	656	45	125	−10
2,500 to 10,000	486	767	65	160	5
Rural	813	1,035	155	225	70
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL					
ARKANSAS	798	723	155	130	70
Fort Smith	462	468	60	60	0
Little Rock	357	514	20	75	−25
25,000 to 100,000	391	499	35	70	−15
10,000 to 25,000	474	476	60	60	0
2,500 to 10,000	522	576	80	95	10
Rural	888	900	175	180	90
LOUISIANA	659	785	110	150	40
New Orleans	396	544	45	100	−15
Shreveport	346	676	20	130	−25
100,000 and over	396	544	45	100	−15
25,000 to 100,000	346	676	20	130	−25
10,000 to 25,000	448	741	55	155	−5
2,500 to 10,000	533	940	80	220	15
Rural	853	1,191	165	270	80
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL—contd.					
OKLAHOMA	722	807	130	160	55
Muskogee	406	------	40	------	−15
Oklahoma City	345	576	20	95	−25
Tulsa	362	475	25	60	−25
25,000 to 100,000	360	533	25	80	−25
10,000 to 25,000	459	623	55	110	−5
2,500 to 10,000	539	701	85	140	15
Rural	853	939	165	195	80
TEXAS	630	751	100	140	35
Austin	317	572	10	95	−35
Beaumont	454	779	55	165	−5
Dallas	331	593	20	115	−30
El Paso	342	604	15	105	−25
Fort Worth	351	644	30	135	−25
Galveston	386	643	30	120	−20
Houston	346	612	25	125	−25
San Antonio	389	571	40	110	−20
Waco	401	639	35	120	−15
Wichita Falls	449	556	55	90	−5
100,000 and over	353	589	30	115	−25
25,000 to 100,000	389	613	35	110	−20
10,000 to 25,000	472	570	60	95	0
2,500 to 10,000	487	643	65	120	5
Rural	760	911	135	185	60
MOUNTAIN					
MONTANA	620	855	100	175	30
Butte	349	537	20	85	−25
25,000 to 100,000	349	537	20	85	−25
10,000 to 25,000	415	648	40	120	15
2,500 to 10,000	476	712	60	145	0
Rural	733	999	130	210	55
IDAHO	729	870	135	180	55
10,000 to 25,000	443	686	50	135	−5
2,500 to 10,000	566	674	95	130	20
Rural	824	961	155	200	75
WYOMING	593	890	90	185	25
10,000 to 25,000	391	719	35	145	−15
2,500 to 10,000	476	735	60	150	0
Rural	670	980	110	205	40
COLORADO	516	831	65	165	10
Colorado Springs	297	363	0	25	−35
Denver	294	510	5	85	−40
Pueblo	389	856	35	190	−20
100,000 and over	294	510	5	85	−40
25,000 to 100,000	345	739	20	150	−25
10,000 to 25,000	420	699	45	140	−10
2,500 to 10,000	478	801	65	175	0
Rural	715	1,084	125	240	50

TABLE III.—PER CENT CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE ARE IN EXCESS OF RATIOS NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN THE POPULATION TEMPORARILY AND PERMANENTLY, BY NATIVITY, FOR COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY STATES: 1920—Continued

STATE AND COMMUNITY	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE		INDEX SHOWING PER CENT OF EXCESS OF RATIOS OF CHILDREN OVER TEMPORARY REPLACEMENT NEEDS		Index showing per cent of excess (or deficit) of ratios of children of native white mothers over permanent replacement needs
	Native white	Foreign-born white	Native white	Foreign-born white	
MOUNTAIN—con.					
NEW MEXICO	757	875	140	180	60
10,000 to 25,000	438	528	50	80	−10
2,500 to 10,000	515	700	75	140	10
Rural	836	931	160	190	75
ARIZONA	580	830	85	165	25
Phoenix	359	599	20	105	−25
25,000 to 100,000	359	599	20	105	−25
10,000 to 25,000	405	658	40	125	−15
2,500 to 10,000	473	766	60	160	0
Rural	710	900	120	180	50
UTAH	788	883	150	180	65
Ogden	571	791	95	170	20
Salt Lake City	498	690	80	155	5
100,000 and over	498	690	80	155	5
25,000 to 100,000	571	791	95	170	20
10,000 to 25,000	716	610	145	110	50
2,500 to 10,000	807	962	175	230	70
Rural	1,012	1,104	215	245	115
NEVADA	447	719	45	130	−5
10,000 to 25,000	270	438	−10	50	−45
2,500 to 10,000	444	748	50	155	−5
Rural	498	785	55	145	5
PACIFIC					
WASHINGTON	462	591	50	90	0
Bellingham	410	613	40	110	−15
Everett	411	545	40	85	−15
Seattle	300	430	10	55	−35
Spokane	346	500	25	85	−25
PACIFIC—con.					
WASHINGTON—Continued					
Tacoma	365	577	25	95	−25
100,000 and over	312	442	15	60	−35
25,000 to 100,000	381	577	30	95	−20
10,000 to 25,000	430	593	45	100	−10
2,500 to 10,000	458	598	55	105	−5
Rural	628	774	95	140	35
OREGON	463	583	50	85	0
Portland	312	493	15	80	−35
100,000 and over	312	493	15	80	−35
10,000 to 25,000	334	513	15	75	−30
2,500 to 10,000	416	536	40	85	−10
Rural	619	757	95	135	30
CALIFORNIA	341	579	10	85	−30
Alameda	342	501	15	70	−25
Berkeley	293	406	0	40	−40
Fresno	307	699	5	140	−35
Long Beach	376	357	30	20	−20
Los Angeles	234	452	−15	65	−50
Oakland	307	504	10	85	−35
Pasadena	267	307	−10	5	−45
Sacramento	304	565	5	95	−35
San Diego	284	529	−5	80	−40
San Francisco	228	420	−15	55	−50
San Jose	295	696	0	135	−35
Stockton	317	550	10	85	−35
100,000 and over	244	445	−10	65	−50
25,000 to 100,000	295	517	0	75	−35
10,000 to 25,000	348	568	20	95	−25
2,500 to 10,000	389	693	35	135	−20
Rural	501	806	55	150	5

TABLE IV.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE WHITE POPULATION BY NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE, FOR URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITIES, BY STATES: 1920 [1]

STATE	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF—						
	Total white population	White population in cities					White rural population
		Total urban	100,000 and over	25,000 to 100,000	10,000 to 25,000	2,500 to 10,000	
NEW ENGLAND							
Maine:							
Native white	85.7	79.8	--------	78.0	78.9	83.0	89.5
Native parentage	64.6	51.4	--------	48.1	50.1	56.8	73.0
Foreign or mixed parentage	21.1	28.4	--------	29.9	28.8	26.2	16.5
Foreign-born white	14.0	19.7	--------	21.4	20.9	16.6	10.3
New Hampshire:							
Native white	79.2	74.3	--------	65.9	78.7	80.2	87.8
Native parentage	50.9	40.3	--------	25.9	47.3	51.3	69.0
Foreign or mixed parentage	28.4	33.9	--------	40.0	31.3	28.9	18.8
Foreign-born white	20.6	25.5	--------	34.0	21.0	19.6	12.1
Vermont:							
Native white	87.2	83.3	--------	--------	83.1	83.4	89.0
Native parentage	64.8	53.9	--------	--------	51.9	55.5	69.7
Foreign or mixed parentage	22.4	29.4	--------	--------	31.2	27.9	19.3
Foreign-born white	12.6	16.5	--------	--------	16.7	16.4	10.9
Massachusetts:							
Native white	70.8	70.1	66.0	70.3	74.5	76.8	82.9
Native parentage	31.9	30.6	24.6	30.5	36.2	42.1	56.5
Foreign or mixed parentage	38.8	39.5	41.4	39.8	38.2	34.8	26.4
Foreign-born white	28.0	28.6	31.9	29.0	25.1	22.5	16.0
Rhode Island:							
Native white	69.6	69.1	68.5	68.6	68.0	73.3	85.9
Native parentage	28.7	27.8	26.8	26.9	25.3	34.9	64.5
Foreign or mixed parentage	40.8	41.3	41.7	41.7	42.7	38.3	21.4
Foreign-born white	28.7	29.1	29.0	30.1	31.0	25.6	11.9
Connecticut:							
Native white	71.1	68.6	67.5	68.4	70.3	73.0	76.4
Native parentage	32.5	27.8	27.4	26.9	28.3	33.4	42.4
Foreign or mixed parentage	38.6	40.8	40.1	41.5	42.1	39.6	33.9
Foreign-born white	27.3	29.5	29.9	30.3	28.6	26.1	22.6
MIDDLE ATLANTIC							
New York:							
Native white	71.1	67.6	64.3	77.4	82.2	83.1	87.8
Native parentage	35.3	29.0	23.6	43.7	51.9	55.1	65.8
Foreign or mixed parentage	35.8	38.7	40.7	33.7	30.3	28.0	22.0
Foreign-born white	26.8	30.1	33.2	21.2	16.7	15.5	11.2
New Jersey:							
Native white	72.8	70.8	69.7	67.5	74.2	77.4	80.1
Native parentage	38.4	33.8	30.7	28.4	40.9	47.2	55.1
Foreign or mixed parentage	34.4	37.0	39.0	39.1	33.2	30.2	25.1
Foreign-born white	23.4	25.4	26.6	28.5	21.7	19.0	16.2
Pennsylvania:							
Native white	80.8	77.4	72.5	83.0	78.3	83.5	86.9
Native parentage	54.5	47.3	39.3	58.5	47.7	56.6	67.4
Foreign or mixed parentage	26.3	30.1	33.2	24.6	30.7	26.9	19.5
Foreign-born white	15.9	18.3	20.9	14.3	18.8	15.0	11.6
EAST NORTH CENTRAL							
Ohio:							
Native white	85.0	80.2	75.3	85.0	86.5	90.3	93.3
Native parentage	63.7	54.3	44.9	64.8	65.1	73.5	80.3
Foreign or mixed parentage	21.3	25.9	30.5	20.1	21.4	16.8	13.0
Foreign-born white	11.8	15.5	19.4	11.7	11.2	6.8	5.2
Indiana:							
Native white	92.1	87.1	83.5	83.0	90.2	95.2	97.2
Native parentage	79.5	70.4	69.8	60.9	73.9	84.8	88.8
Foreign or mixed parentage	12.5	16.7	13.8	22.1	16.3	10.5	8.3
Foreign-born white	5.1	8.0	5.4	12.5	7.4	3.1	2.2
Illinois:							
Native white	78.5	72.5	66.0	81.1	82.7	84.7	91.3
Native parentage	47.3	36.0	23.8	51.2	54.8	60.5	71.2
Foreign or mixed parentage	31.2	36.5	42.2	30.0	27.9	24.2	20.1
Foreign-born white	18.6	23.8	29.8	15.5	13.5	13.1	7.7
Michigan:							
Native white	78.4	74.2	68.1	79.2	78.6	83.2	84.9
Native parentage	45.5	40.2	32.7	48.4	40.7	50.9	53.8
Foreign or mixed parentage	32.8	33.9	35.4	30.9	38.0	32.2	31.1
Foreign-born white	19.8	23.3	28.1	19.1	20.5	16.0	14.4

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[1] Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, pp. 94-100.

TABLE IV.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE WHITE POPULATION BY NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE, FOR URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITIES, BY STATES: 1920—Continued

STATE	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF—						
	Total white population	White population in cities					White rural population
		Total urban	100,000 and over	25,000 to 100,000	10,000 to 25,000	2,500 to 10,000	
EAST NORTH CENTRAL—continued							
WISCONSIN:							
Native white	81.9	79.2	75.4	77.6	83.2	84.1	84.4
Native parentage	40.1	35.7	28.6	35.3	42.1	43.2	44.0
Foreign or mixed parentage	41.9	43.5	46.8	42.3	41.1	40.9	40.5
Foreign-born white	17.5	20.4	24.1	22.0	16.2	15.8	14.8
WEST NORTH CENTRAL							
MINNESOTA:							
Native white	78.9	76.2	76.0	68.9	80.3	77.7	81.0
Native parentage	34.7	33.9	34.2	24.2	39.0	34.5	35.3
Foreign or mixed parentage	44.2	42.3	41.8	44.8	41.3	43.1	45.7
Foreign-born white	20.4	23.0	22.7	30.4	19.4	22.2	18.3
IOWA:							
Native white	89.8	87.9	86.7	86.0	87.8	90.6	90.9
Native parentage	63.6	63.1	66.7	56.8	61.7	69.0	63.9
Foreign or mixed parentage	26.2	24.9	20.0	29.2	26.1	21.7	27.0
Foreign-born white	9.4	10.3	8.9	12.6	10.2	8.6	8.9
MISSOURI:							
Native white	89.3	82.1	78.9	90.0	87.4	90.0	95.5
Native parentage	74.5	59.8	51.8	77.0	76.1	79.0	87.4
Foreign or mixed parentage	14.7	22.3	27.1	13.0	11.2	11.0	8.2
Foreign-born white	5.5	9.4	11.9	5.5	2.9	3.0	2.0
NORTH DAKOTA:							
Native white	78.6	81.0	---------	---------	81.4	80.6	78.2
Native parentage	32.1	41.3	---------	---------	41.1	41.5	30.7
Foreign or mixed parentage	46.4	39.7	---------	---------	40.2	39.2	47.5
Foreign-born white	20.3	18.3	---------	---------	18.1	18.5	20.6
SOUTH DAKOTA:							
Native white	84.3	87.5	---------	87.8	84.9	88.0	83.7
Native parentage	48.5	57.2	---------	55.8	50.6	59.3	46.8
Foreign or mixed parentage	35.8	30.3	---------	32.0	34.3	28.7	36.9
Foreign-born white	12.9	11.9	---------	11.7	14.9	11.3	13.1
NEBRASKA:							
Native white	87.1	82.2	76.0	85.2	86.3	89.3	89.4
Native parentage	58.4	55.7	45.2	60.8	63.2	67.6	59.6
Foreign or mixed parentage	28.7	26.5	30.8	24.5	23.1	21.8	29.7
Foreign-born white	11.5	14.6	18.5	13.1	12.4	10.0	10.1
KANSAS:							
Native white	90.3	86.6	74.2	87.8	88.0	90.9	92.3
Native parentage	74.0	72.8	55.9	75.0	74.9	78.0	74.6
Foreign or mixed parentage	16.4	13.8	18.2	12.8	13.0	12.9	17.8
Foreign-born white	6.2	6.4	11.5	5.7	4.9	5.6	6.2
SOUTH ATLANTIC							
DELAWARE:							
Native white	77.5	75.3	75.4	---------	---------	73.7	80.1
Native parentage	62.7	52.8	51.6	---------	---------	64.9	74.5
Foreign or mixed parentage	14.7	22.5	23.8	---------	---------	8.8	5.7
Foreign-born white	8.9	13.9	14.8	---------	---------	5.1	2.9
MARYLAND:							
Native white	76.1	75.5	73.8	92.2	78.6	80.6	76.8
Native parentage	61.6	55.5	51.6	83.2	71.4	72.3	70.8
Foreign or mixed parentage	14.5	20.1	22.2	9.0	7.2	8.3	6.1
Foreign-born white	7.0	10.1	11.4	2.7	2.5	3.0	2.5
VIRGINIA:							
Native white	68.7	66.1	62.1	63.3	75.4	75.0	69.8
Native parentage	66.5	61.4	55.9	59.1	72.4	72.5	68.5
Foreign or mixed parentage	2.3	4.7	6.2	4.3	3.0	2.5	1.3
Foreign-born white	1.3	2.9	3.9	2.6	1.5	1.4	0.7
WEST VIRGINIA:							
Native white	89.9	88.5	---------	88.4	88.8	88.5	90.3
Native parentage	84.2	78.3	---------	75.7	81.2	80.1	86.2
Foreign or mixed parentage	5.7	10.2	---------	12.8	7.7	8.4	4.0
Foreign-born white	4.2	5.4	---------	5.6	4.4	5.6	3.9

Table IV.—Per Cent Distribution of the White Population by Nativity and Parentage, for Urban and Rural Communities, by States: 1920—Continued

STATE	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF—						
	Total white population	White population in cities					White rural population
		Total urban	100,000 and over	25,000 to 100,000	10,000 to 25,000	2,500 to 10,000	
SOUTH ATLANTIC—continued							
North Carolina:							
Native white	69.4	67.5	---------	63.0	65.1	73.4	69.9
Native parentage	69.0	66.1	---------	60.9	63.9	72.5	69.7
Foreign or mixed parentage	0.4	1.3	---------	2.0	1.2	0.9	0.2
Foreign-born white	0.3	0.9	---------	1.3	0.8	0.6	0.1
South Carolina:							
Native white	48.2	58.9	---------	53.1	63.4	61.5	46.0
Native parentage	47.5	55.9	---------	47.3	61.8	60.2	45.7
Foreign or mixed parentage	0.7	2.9	---------	5.8	1.6	1.3	0.2
Foreign-born white	0.4	1.4	---------	2.5	1.0	0.7	0.2
Georgia:							
Native white	57.8	60.7	66.3	54.9	56.5	63.7	56.8
Native parentage	56.7	57.6	62.3	50.1	54.6	62.5	56.4
Foreign or mixed parentage	1.1	3.2	4.0	4.7	1.9	1.2	0.4
Foreign-born white	0.6	1.7	2.4	2.4	1.1	0.7	0.2
Florida:							
Native white	61.5	57.8	---------	55.1	68.3	59.3	63.6
Native parentage	55.0	45.8	---------	43.3	43.6	50.8	60.3
Foreign or mixed parentage	6.5	12.0	---------	11.9	24.7	8.5	3.3
Foreign-born white	4.4	8.3	---------	9.1	12.0	5.9	2.2
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL							
Kentucky:							
Native white	89.0	79.9	78.0	82.7	81.5	80.0	92.2
Native parentage	84.4	66.8	59.3	63.5	76.2	74.2	90.6
Foreign or mixed parentage	4.6	13.2	18.6	19.2	5.3	5.8	1.5
Foreign-born white	1.3	3.4	4.9	4.5	1.3	1.6	0.5
Tennessee:							
Native white	80.0	70.2	62.6	76.2	76.9	77.1	83.5
Native parentage	78.4	65.8	55.9	72.6	75.1	75.6	82.8
Foreign or mixed parentage	1.6	4.4	6.7	3.7	1.7	1.5	0.6
Foreign-born white	0.7	1.9	2.9	1.5	0.7	0.7	0.2
Alabama:							
Native white	60.9	59.1	57.3	55.4	58.5	65.3	61.4
Native parentage	59.4	54.7	51.6	48.2	56.3	63.4	60.7
Foreign or mixed parentage	1.5	4.4	5.7	7.2	2.2	1.9	0.7
Foreign-born white	0.8	2.2	3.4	2.7	1.2	0.9	0.4
Mississippi:							
Native white	47.2	57.1	---------	---------	55.3	59.5	45.7
Native parentage	46.2	52.9	---------	---------	50.8	55.8	45.1
Foreign or mixed parentage	1.0	4.2	---------	---------	4.6	3.7	0.6
Foreign-born white	0.4	1.7	---------	---------	1.8	1.7	0.2
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL							
Arkansas:							
Native white	72.2	72.7	---------	74.8	66.5	73.7	72.1
Native parentage	70.0	67.4	---------	66.6	60.6	70.5	70.5
Foreign or mixed parentage	2.2	5.3	---------	8.2	5.8	3.2	1.6
Foreign-born white	0.8	1.9	---------	2.8	2.6	1.1	0.6
Louisiana:							
Native white	58.5	64.4	67.1	57.1	56.3	62.9	55.3
Native parentage	52.4	51.0	49.2	51.8	48.7	56.9	53.1
Foreign or mixed parentage	6.1	13.5	17.9	5.3	7.6	5.9	2.2
Foreign-born white	2.5	5.2	6.7	3.0	3.1	2.5	1.0
Oklahoma:							
Native white	87.8	87.5	---------	83.9	85.6	91.8	87.9
Native parentage	82.8	81.1	---------	76.3	79.2	86.3	83.4
Foreign or mixed parentage	5.0	6.4	---------	7.6	6.3	5.5	4.5
Foreign-born white	2.0	2.6	---------	3.1	2.2	2.4	1.7
Texas:							
Native white	76.3	74.0	72.8	67.3	75.5	79.4	77.4
Native parentage	66.7	62.9	59.6	53.4	65.9	72.0	68.6
Foreign or mixed parentage	9.5	11.2	13.2	14.0	9.6	7.4	8.8
Foreign-born white	7.7	11.1	11.5	17.5	10.7	6.5	6.1

TABLE IV.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE WHITE POPULATION BY NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE, FOR URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITIES, BY STATES: 1920—Continued

STATE	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF—						
	Total white population	White population in cities					White rural population
		Total urban	100,000 and over	25,000 to 100,000	10,000 to 25,000	2,500 to 10,000	
MOUNTAIN							
MONTANA:							
Native white	80.3	79.6	---------	71.3	80.7	84.3	80.6
Native parentage	50.2	47.4	---------	32.3	49.2	56.3	51.6
Foreign or mixed parentage	30.1	32.2	---------	39.0	31.6	27.9	29.1
Foreign-born white	17.1	19.0	---------	27.5	17.8	14.3	16.1
IDAHO:							
Native white	89.5	89.4	---------	---------	86.9	90.5	89.6
Native parentage	68.1	67.4	---------	---------	65.5	68.2	68.4
Foreign or mixed parentage	21.4	22.0	---------	---------	21.5	22.3	21.2
Foreign-born white	9.0	9.3	---------	---------	10.7	8.7	8.9
WYOMING:							
Native white	84.8	82.7	---------	---------	84.0	81.8	85.7
Native parentage	63.2	58.8	---------	---------	62.2	56.0	65.1
Foreign or mixed parentage	21.6	24.0	---------	---------	21.7	25.7	20.6
Foreign-born white	13.0	14.7	---------	---------	13.2	15.9	12.3
COLORADO:							
Native white	85.9	84.5	82.7	82.9	89.4	89.4	87.2
Native parentage	64.2	61.0	56.4	60.9	69.9	70.7	67.2
Foreign or mixed parentage	21.7	23.6	26.3	22.0	19.6	18.7	20.0
Foreign-born white	12.4	13.2	14.7	13.7	9.6	9.7	11.8
NEW MEXICO:							
Native white	84.8	88.5	---------	---------	88.9	88.4	84.0
Native parentage	75.8	75.2	---------	---------	72.8	75.9	76.0
Foreign or mixed parentage	8.9	13.3	---------	---------	16.1	12.4	8.0
Foreign-born white	8.1	8.7	---------	---------	9.2	8.6	7.9
ARIZONA:							
Native white	63.8	72.0	---------	81.5	70.5	68.4	59.4
Native parentage	45.2	49.6	---------	62.6	43.1	46.0	42.8
Foreign or mixed parentage	18.6	22.3	---------	18.8	27.4	22.4	16.6
Foreign-born white	23.4	24.6	---------	13.9	25.5	28.9	22.7
UTAH:							
Native white	85.8	84.0	82.4	83.9	89.7	86.5	87.4
Native parentage	54.7	50.1	47.6	51.4	61.9	52.5	58.9
Foreign or mixed parentage	31.1	33.9	34.8	32.5	27.8	34.0	28.5
Foreign-born white	12.6	15.0	16.5	14.1	10.1	13.3	10.3
NEVADA:							
Native white	72.2	79.9	---------	---------	79.6	81.1	70.3
Native parentage	46.9	53.1	---------	---------	51.9	57.4	45.3
Foreign or mixed parentage	25.3	26.8	---------	---------	27.6	23.7	25.0
Foreign-born white	19.1	17.1	---------	---------	17.4	16.0	19.6
PACIFIC							
WASHINGTON:							
Native white	78.9	77.4	75.1	77.1	82.4	83.8	80.6
Native parentage	52.5	49.9	46.9	46.8	58.5	60.0	55.6
Foreign or mixed parentage	26.4	27.5	28.2	30.2	23.9	23.8	24.9
Foreign-born white	18.4	20.0	21.6	21.1	16.2	14.7	16.5
OREGON:							
Native white	85.1	82.5	79.7	---------	81.5	91.0	87.8
Native parentage	63.5	58.2	52.7	---------	58.7	73.6	68.9
Foreign or mixed parentage	21.6	24.3	26.9	---------	22.8	17.4	18.9
Foreign-born white	13.0	15.7	18.2	---------	16.8	8.1	10.4
CALIFORNIA:							
Native white	75.4	75.7	72.6	79.5	80.9	79.3	74.6
Native parentage	49.0	48.2	42.5	53.9	58.4	55.4	50.7
Foreign or mixed parentage	26.4	27.6	30.1	25.5	22.5	24.0	23.9
Foreign-born white	19.9	20.3	22.9	17.0	16.1	17.5	19.1

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